


ON IMITATIVE ART: ITS PRINCIPLES
AND PROGRESS.



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ON
IMITATIVE ART
ITS PRINCIPLES AND PROGRESS

WITH
PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON
BEAUTY, SUBLIMITY, AND TASTE.

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"Nunc celebres in ea arte quam maxima brevitare percurram—quosdam vel in transitu, et in aliorum mentione, nominasse satis erit."—Plin., N. H., xxxv., 34.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following pages are the result of notes and observations made during several years in many of the principal Galleries of Europe, especially those of Italy, aided by the study of some of the best works on Art. The writer pretends not to technical knowledge. His purpose is that of the vast majority of the world; to discover how far a painting, or a piece of sculpture, fulfils its end by striking and satisfying the imagination; whether a statue well embodies the idea attached to it; whether a painting tells its story in a natural and effective manner; to judge, in short, of Art as of a poem, of whose merits the general public are allowed to be the supreme and final arbiters. The sculptor and painter, indeed, by appealing to the eye instead of the ear, use artificial methods, the skill of which forms a separate head of criticism belonging properly to the professional artist. Such criticism, however, concerns more the subordinate kinds and qualities of Art, than those higher merits which waken sympathy and stir the passions, which entrance by beauty or elevate by grandeur. Even here, of course, the technical excellences of art also contribute to the pleasure of the spectator. But of these the amateur, who to a taste for Art has added an extensive and careful survey of its productions, can hardly have failed to acquire knowledge enough to distinguish good work from bad, and to have formed a tolerable acquaintance with the styles of the more emi-

nent artists and their respective schools. And on the other hand, it is quite possible that a man with much technical knowledge may after all be but a poor judge of the higher merits of a composition.

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BOULOGNE-SUR-MER,

March 25, 1882.

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS

ON BEAUTY, SUBLIMITY, AND TASTE.

IN the finer Arts, Beauty is so essential a quality that any treatise on the subject which made not some attempt to discover its nature might be justly deemed incomplete. Unfortunately, however, the investigation is one which seems to elude any definite and satisfactory conclusion. For more than 2000 years, or ever since men began to inquire into the nature of their own minds, the question has been discussed, but hitherto without much success. Beauty, observes Winckelmann, is one of the greatest secrets of nature; we all perceive it and feel its effects; but nobody has yet succeeded in giving a clear and well-defined idea of it.¹ This remark is as true now as it was a hundred years ago. Hence, it would seem, we must draw one of two conclusions; either the nature of beauty is undiscoverable, or the investigation has not been conducted in a proper method. It may be, indeed, that both these conclusions are just; but it might be rash to assert the first of them, whilst the second, in the majority of instances, may perhaps be accepted as true.

Before setting out in quest of the beautiful, we should try to determine what it is we seek; whether it

¹ "History of Art," b. iv., ch. 2.

be a product of the reason, or a mere feeling totally unconnected with that faculty; in other words, whether it be an opinion or a sentiment. If it be the latter, it would be as absurd to attempt its discovery by the reason as to angle for a bird or go a-fishing with a fowling-piece. He who should adopt such a method would, like the man described by Dante, be led the more astray the further he went:—

"Vie più che indarno da riva si parte
Perchè non torna tal qual ei si muove
Chi pesca per lo vero e non ha l'arte."¹

Yet in the greater part of such investigations it seems to have been tacitly assumed that beauty, even if it be a sentiment, is in all cases amenable to reason. Hence many metaphysical and abstract terms and notions have been introduced into a subject to which they are altogether inapplicable. Beauty is a creature of the imagination, and as such not amenable to a process of reasoning. But it is subject to the laws of good sense, and so indeed is reason itself. Both the imagination and the reason are products of the same intellect exerted in a different manner. By the one we seek to discover truth, by the other we become sensible of the beautiful.

Much confusion has been introduced into the subject from the abuse of language and from not distinguishing between the objects which convey a sense of beauty. In its primary and proper meaning, Beauty consists in the pleasure and admiration caused by visible objects. But it has been transferred from the eye to the ear, and even to the understanding. Thus we hear of a beautiful tune, a beautiful theorem, a beautiful character, &c. Is the pleasure derived from these objects precisely the same? And does it agree with that conveyed by the

¹ "Parad." xiii., 121.

eyesight? Nobody, I think, will affirm it. But from the poverty of language we are unable accurately to express the different shades and gradations of emotion. Restricting the term *beautiful* to visible things, by what words shall we express the pleasure derived from the other objects just alluded to? Perhaps the nearest equivalents are *delight*, *gratification*, *satisfaction*. It might be difficult to distinguish between *pleasure* and *delight*, except, perhaps, that the latter is a more sudden and vivid, and also a more transitory emotion. On the other hand, *gratification* and *satisfaction*, especially the latter, express emotions less lively than pleasure. And for this reason, perhaps, it is that *beautiful* or *delightful* are used when we would express a high degree of approbation; for to say of a tune or a man's character that it was satisfactory, or even gratifying, would be but a cold sort of commendation.

The want of distinguishing between the objects whose sight awakens a sense of Beauty is perhaps a still greater source of confusion and error. Such objects may be divided into the natural and the artificial, to which last class belong all the productions of imitative art. It is evident that the same principles of beauty cannot be applied to works of so different an origin, since natural objects are simple, whilst artificial ones are mixed and complex. Yet as the impressions produced by both are analogous and hard to be distinguished they are generally placed in the same category. But to this subject there will be occasion to revert.

For the most part, as before observed, Beauty has been treated of as a creature of the understanding, or, at all events, as subject to the laws of reason. The idea of the Platonists, very prevalent in antiquity, was that beauty consists in a multitude of corresponding

parts forming unity, or a consistent and harmonious whole. On this view, which has been adopted by Coleridge and Wordsworth,¹ I will venture no opinion, since I do not understand it. Father Andrès held that the principles of beauty are regularity, order, proportion, &c., and his theory was approved of by Diderot.² In like manner Beauty has been attributed to fitness and perfection. Raphael Mengs was of opinion that Beauty springs from the conformity of a thing to our ideas of its destination; that such ideas are acquired by experience, and by speculation on the general effects of things as destined by the Creator, and founded on the graduated perfections of nature; the first cause being the divine wisdom.³ On which I will observe that such a process would require a vast amount of reflection very subtly conducted, and that a sense of beauty could be the lot of very few, though it is plain that it is pretty universal.

Again: the basis of this theory, as well as of those which place Beauty in regularity, order, &c., is utility, or subservience to some end or purpose. If this were so, the more useful and the better adapted to its purpose a thing might be, the greater would be its beauty. But there are evidently many eminently useful things that have no beauty whatever; and, on the other hand, many very beautiful things having no purpose, or what is the same thing so far as concerns the argument, no purpose that we are able to discover, and seem to be created only with a view to the pleasure they afford. It would be difficult to assign any end or purpose except that of giving delight to the perfume of the rose or the variegated splendour of the butterfly's

¹ See their definitions in Webster's Dictionary.

² Quoted by D'Azara in his edition

of Mengs' works ("Opere," t. i., p. 90, Bassano, 1783).

³ Ibid., p. 13.

wings. The truth seems to be that as the Almighty in his goodness has endowed man with a sense of beauty, so he has gratified it with suitable objects and spread a charm over his whole creation.

It may perhaps be thought superfluous to examine a theory which since the days of Burke¹ might have been deemed exploded, had not a Professor, in a series of Lectures on Art, delivered not long ago at the Royal Academy, insisted on utility as being the foundation of all beauty.² Such a view appears to me calculated to damp all the better aspirations of Art; to clip the wings of fancy, and to confine the artist to the real and the practical rather than to encourage him to a higher flight into the regions of the imaginative and ideal.

Beauty is subjective; it lies not in the object, but in the mind which perceives it. If it lay in the object, it would be absolute and capable of definition, in which case there could be no difference of opinion about it. But in fact there are few things about which men differ more, though the object remains the same. The cause of this difference, therefore, must be in ourselves, and the perception of beauty be only relative. Hence, since beauty is undefinable, and since it is impossible to make all men feel alike, it has passed into a proverb that there is no disputing about tastes,—which only means that the matter cannot be brought to any logical and definite conclusion.

Burke seems to have hit upon the right method of investigating the origin and nature of the sense of Beauty when he endeavours to trace by what visible qualities in natural objects it is excited and gratified. But it may be doubted whether a complete enumeration

¹ "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful," Part III., § 8.

² See the "Lectures" of the late Mr. Weekes, No. III., On Beauty.

of these qualities be within the capacity of the human mind. He thus epitomizes the result of his researches: "On the whole, the qualities of beauty, as they are merely sensible qualities, are the following: First, to be comparatively small. Secondly, to be smooth. Thirdly, to have a variety in the direction of the parts; but, fourthly, to have those parts not angular, but melted as it were into each other. Fifthly, to be of a delicate frame, without any remarkable appearance of strength. Sixthly, to have its colours clear and bright, but not very strong and glaring. Seventhly, if it should have any glaring colour, to have it diversified with others. These are, I believe, the properties on which beauty depends; properties that operate by nature and are less liable to be altered by caprice, or confounded by a diversity of tastes, than any other."¹

Here the principal elements of beauty are considered to be form and colour; and this general classification is doubtless correct; but some of the particulars specified may perhaps be open to question. Form is no doubt the chief constituent of beauty. This is so obvious that both in Greek and Latin the words are synonymous (*εἶδος*, *forma*). Colour enhances the charm of form, but is not absolutely necessary to it. A colourless statue may have exquisite beauty, and a sketch or engraving may convey a very sensible idea of it; whilst a palette of colours, however brilliant and harmonious, excites no very lively emotion.

Burke derived the sense of beauty from the passion of love, and this view often tinges his reflections on the subject. He meant indeed the delicate passion described by Pope:—

"Lust, when through certain strainers well refin'd,
Is gentle love, and charms all womankind."

¹ "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful," Part III., § 18.

But even so it must have something sexual in it, and such a view is, I think, erroneous. The proposition reversed may be equally true—that the sense of beauty produces the passion of love. Food begets not the sense of the palate, but that sense gives rise to the relish and desire for food. And in any philosophical discussion of the principles of beauty, appeals to the sexual passion should be carefully avoided, as only calculated to perplex and distort. Such was the opinion of Winckelmann; who, however, seems to carry it too far when he says that the least sensitive man will be the best judge of beauty.¹ It requires sensibility to be touched at all by beauty; but to judge of it justly in our own species, all sexual ideas should be eliminated as much as possible. Into the passion of love other elements enter besides beauty, as esteem, and admiration for qualities of the heart or mind. And in the grosser impulse common to us with the brute creation it is not always the most beautiful object that excites the most violent desire. Add, that if Burke's theory be true, there must be a different standard of beauty for the opposite sexes, whereas we find that they commonly agree in their ideas of it; and that though one sex may prefer beauty in the opposite one to the same quality in their own, yet that a beautiful woman in the estimation of men is generally allowed to be such by her own sex, and *vice versâ*. If this be not so, the difference of sentiment must be caused by something else than beauty. Further: we have a sense of beauty in things that cannot possibly excite any sexual idea; as in certain animals, and even in inanimate objects, as plants and flowers.

It is, however, true that our own species claims the first place in our ideas of beauty; not only because, in

¹ "Hist. of Art," Fea's translation, t. i., p. 272 (Roma, 1783).

our notions at least, the human form is the most beautiful of objects, but also because it is most familiar to us, and more readily judged of than any other work of the creation. Cicero remarks that it combines the charms of form and colour,¹ and thus it possesses both the elements of beauty. Their undefinable nature is, however, indicated by the indefinite pronouns which he uses, answering to the *je ne sais quoi* of the French. The apt configuration, or symmetry, which he speaks of cannot mean such as will best serve a purpose, for a clumsy figure will answer all the ends of life as well as an elegant one, and indeed in many cases better. Trees and plants often possess symmetry and beauty of colour; and though it would be difficult to define in what their beauty consists, we are pleased, we know not why, with their graceful forms, and vivid and harmonious colouring.

Burke supports his opinion that smallness is necessary to beauty by citing the diminutive epithets applied in all languages to the objects of love. "A great beautiful thing," he observes, "is a manner of expression scarcely ever used, but that of a great ugly thing is very common."² He means of course *relative* size in objects. But language may also be appealed to to prove the reverse. An object of normal size, or even somewhat above it, may be *beautiful*; but a small one of the same kind, and with the same perfection of parts, becomes only *pretty*. The same term is applied to a small woman, with delicate features and proportions; whereas a *fine* woman, implying a somewhat large one, with noble features and mien, is beautiful. Thus small-

¹ "Corporis est quedam apta figura membrorum cum coloris quadam suavitate, eaque dicitur pulchritudo."—"Tuscul.," iv.

² "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful," Part III., § 13.

ness may sometimes diminish beauty. According to Burke's view, grandeur, which, as its name implies, must always have a comparative greatness of size, would be incompatible with beauty. Yet I think it will be allowed that a statue somewhat larger than life, as, for instance, one of Pheidias', may be beautiful as well as grand. Burke justly distinguishes between the sublime and the beautiful, inasmuch as the former always dwells in great objects. But in such cases the greatness must be enormous and extraordinary. Great extent does not, I think, as he affirms, always exclude beauty. If that were true, nothing would be beautiful in landscape but what is called a home view. But what can more deserve the name of beauty than some of those prospects in descending the Italian side of the Alps, where sight seems to lose itself in distance? Take, for instance, that of the vale of Bedretto, on descending the St. Gothard. An avenue, apparently interminable between mountains, not rugged and repulsive, but of gracefully swelling forms, and permeated by the shining river. We might bestow many epithets on such a view besides *beautiful*; we might call it *lovely*, *charming*, *enchancing*, *magnificent*, or in the gushing style, *ravishing*; but *sublime*, according to Burke's definition of sublimity, would be quite out of place, for there is nothing in it allied to awe or terror.

Burke truly observes that hardly any thing can strike the mind as sublime which does not make some sort of approach towards infinity, which nothing can do whilst we are able to perceive its bounds.¹ It follows from this that Art is incapable of adequately representing the material sublime, as all its objects are rigidly defined by lines. At most it can only suggest some sense of the

¹ "Sublime and Beautiful," Part II., § 4.

sublime by the association of ideas. Great exaggeration of size in Art produces not sublimity, but monstrosity. Such is the case with colossal statues of enormous size. They are, I think, a mistake in Art, unless intended to be placed at such a distance as may reduce them by perspective to their just proportions. Michelangelo's "David"—apart from the question of the propriety of a colossal *boy*, and other objections—was in too confined a situation even in the Piazza del Gran Duca; and the matter is worse now that he is placed in the Museum, though a room has been built expressly for him. The cast from the statue on the new terrace near S. Miniato has a better effect from the extensive view around it.

Burke's account of the beauty of smoothness (§ 14) seems to be just, on the principle propounded in the next section of gradual variation, and the distaste caused by what is rugged and abrupt. The beauty of the curved line has struck most observers. Mengs, who was contemporary with Hogarth, like him accepted the principle; though the reason which he gives—that its form is the most perfect because it contains only one motive, the extension of its centre—is far-fetched and transcendental. Burke's view, who insists on the *gradual* variation of the curved line, is, I think, more just, and fully borne out by the examples which he adduces. His censure of Hogarth in adopting angular variation is also, perhaps, correct; though angles may sometimes have a good effect by way of contrast. Nature herself seems to have worked on the principle in question in the structure of the human body. Although the bones which compose it are, for the most part, necessarily rectilinear, as in the arms and legs, yet they are concealed and rendered agreeable by the plumpness and roundness of the muscles and flesh which

cover them. This is particularly remarkable in the sex which has the greatest claim to beauty.

It has sometimes occurred to me that, instead of seeking a recondite reason for the pleasure arising from circular or curved forms, rather than from angular ones, we might perhaps find it in the natural constitution of the eye. The power of vision being the same in all directions necessarily forms a circle, of which the eye is the centre. When we look up into the sky, it assumes the appearance of an immense vault or cupola; when we are out at sea the horizon describes a vast circle. The circular form predominates in all the great works of nature; in the globe itself and the heavenly bodies which perform their revolutions with it. The prevalence of roundness makes it grateful to the sight. That figure seems also to confer on it an unrestricted liberty; whilst the square and the angle, being necessarily boundaries, become distasteful from the idea of restraint.

Beauty of form is more capable of definition, or description, than beauty of colour, as being contained in well-marked lines; whilst colour is a property having no certain boundaries, and capable of indefinite extension and blending. Not only is there an infinite variety of shades in each colour, but one is also capable of being mingled with another, thus producing endless gradations and tints. Add that colour is more liable than form to be judged according to individual idiosyncrasies. Form is so well defined a thing that nearly all mankind must have the same conceptions of it; and it is capable of being ascertained by the touch as well as by the sight. But colour appeals only to the eye, an organ whose sensitiveness is very various in different persons. In a considerable portion of mankind, indeed, the sense of colour is very imperfect; and many are unable accurately to distinguish blended, or even primary colours.

The preference for certain colours in natural objects is entirely a matter of individual taste and can be brought under no critical rules. If a man prefer red to blue, or violet to green, there is nothing more to be said. But in a picture the matter is different. For here colouring is the blending of one colour with another, so as to produce agreeable contrasts as well as general harmony of effect. Such results spring from long study and observation, and may therefore be reduced to certain principles, a technical inquiry into which is out of the scope of this work. And I think it will be found that a person with a normal eye who has had good opportunities of seeing the best paintings will, without much study of these principles, soon learn to distinguish good colouring from bad, and to appreciate the different schools. And, after all, as before intimated, colour is not so essential a merit, in the higher class of art at least, as design and form.

The vagueness in our conceptions of the cause of beauty does not hinder it from being vividly felt; and the sense of it, though thus unaccountable, will be found, in its rudiments, to be common to, and pretty similar in, all mankind.¹ We should be inclined to place without the pale of human nature a man wholly insensible to a difference in the beauty of visible objects. The rudest boor forms an opinion as to the relative beauty of a horse or a dog, and prefers the charms of one village maiden to those of another. Whether he judges more or less well or ill depends on two circumstances; the natural constitution of his mind, and the opportunities he has had for observation and comparison. It may indeed be affirmed that by comparison only is the taste for beauty capable of improvement.

¹ "Omnes autem tacito quodam sensu, artibus ac rationibus recta et prava sine ulla arte aut ratione, quæ sint in dijudicant."—Cic. "De Orat." iii. 5.

The sense of beauty is the same thing as Taste; one implies the other, and they are only two modes of denoting the same faculty. For what is the sense of beauty but the selection and preference of some object as more beautiful than others of the same kind? This is the very essence of taste; the man who has done so is already a critic, though more or less a good or a bad one. But the term *taste* is commonly applied to that more improved condition of the sense of beauty which arises from trained observation and comparison, and more especially in respect of works of art. In that state it might perhaps be more fitly called the Critique of Taste. The word *taste* signifies in most languages the sensations of the palate, and has been thence transferred by analogy to other senses; thus showing a consentient opinion that it is in its original nature *material*, and that a visible object produces at once a feeling of beauty or ugliness, of liking or disgust, just as certain foods or drinks have a similar effect upon the palate. Thus the Italians and French, like ourselves, give the same name to the perception of beauty and the relish of the palate (*gusto, goût*). The German word *Geschmack* has also a like meaning; but the pedantry peculiar to that people has led them to exchange it for the Greek term *æsthetic*.¹ In this, in Kant's time, they stood alone; but the present English admiration for everything German has led us to admit it, without any necessity, and perhaps prejudicially, into our language. Kant himself did not approve of it, with regard at least to taste; and as his observations on this subject serve to confirm what I have already said about the nature of that sentiment, I will here insert a translation of them: "Germans," he observes,

¹ αἰσθητικός, which has a derivative and secondary meaning of *intelligent, reasonable*.

“are the only people who now use the word *æsthetic* to denote what others call the Critique of Taste. The reason is a false hope entertained by the distinguished analyst Baumgarten to bring the critical judgment of the Beautiful under principles of the reason, and to erect the rules of it into a science. But such a pursuit is vain. For these rules or *criteria* are in their chief sources altogether empirical, and can never serve for definite *à priori* laws by which the judgment must be directed in matters of taste. It is rather this judgment which is the proper touchstone of the correctness of such rules.”¹

Assuming, then, that Taste depends not on the reason, it may be inquired, as there is evidently a great variety of tastes, whether there be any standard to which they may be brought? It may be answered that if the sense of beauty, or taste, is incapable of demonstration, it is plain that it must be impossible to *prove* any standard of it. The appeal lies not to opinion but to sentiment; and the standard must be derived, not from the deductions of reason, but from the feelings implanted in us by nature, and cultivated and refined by observation. But there are not wanting great authorities who hold, rightly I think, that the conclusions thus arrived at may be equally, if not more certain than judgments derived from reasoning. Hume observes, in his “Essay on the Standard of Taste,” that sentiment is both more general and more lasting than opinion, that Aristotle and Plato, Epicurus and Descartes, may successively yield to each other; but Terence and Virgil maintain a universal undisputed empire over the minds of men; and that the same

¹ “Kritik der reinen Vernunft,” 1^{er} Theil, § 1, S. 72, Anm^s. (Berlin, 1868).
I do not think that the word *æsthetic* is

used by Mengs, Winckelmann, Lessing, or any other critic of their period.

Homer who pleased at Athens and Rome two thousand years ago is still admired at Paris and at London. Burke remarks in like manner: "On the whole one may observe that there is rather less difference upon matters of taste among mankind than upon most of those which depend upon the naked reason, and that men are far better agreed on the excellence of a description of Virgil than on the truth or falsehood of a theory of Aristotle."¹ These passages, it is true, speak of sentiment arising from poetical description and not from the sight of natural objects, or of works of art. But a sentiment, however caused, is in its nature always the same; and if reason had anything to do with the matter, that is more likely to be the case when words, the instruments of reason, are employed to produce sentiment than when it is the immediate product of visible objects. And, to borrow the words of Hume, the same Pheidias whose works pleased at Athens and Rome two thousand years ago is still admired in London and Paris.

All the senses, in their ruder state, are, as already observed, very much alike in by far the greater part of mankind; and it is sufficiently obvious that they are capable of improvement without the intervention of reason. This is perhaps most evident in the lower senses. That the relish of the palate is incapable of being reasoned about everybody, I presume, will allow. Yet gastronomy is become a kind of science, and has its professors, whose services command an exorbitant price. There are certain men who, by a natural acuteness of taste, and the improvement of it by exercise and experience, become accomplished judges of wine or tea, and are employed by dealers in those articles to select such qualities as may commend themselves to the

¹ "On Taste," p. 65 (Bell's ed.).

public. Of the smell and the touch it is unnecessary to speak. Smell is akin to the sense of the palate, and subject to the same laws. Sight is supplemented by touch; and it is well known that the sense of touch becomes much more acute in persons who have lost their sight and make greater use of their fingers. The same is the case with hearing. Mankind, with few exceptions, are sensible of the charms of melody and harmony; the rudest ear is in general capable of appreciating the intervals of the gamut and can detect a false note in the musical scale. A simple tune played on a musical instrument, unaccompanied with voice and words, is capable of moving to sadness or gaiety, of inspiring martial ardour, or lulling to tranquillity and repose. We can no more tell the cause of these feelings than the reason why we are pleased with certain flavours and disgusted with others. It is simply an affair of the senses.

What an interval separates a simple ballad tune from the long-linked harmonies of Mozart or Haydn,

“ Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony,”

or the grand choruses and fugues of Handel and Bach! Yet they begin from the same simple elements, and we may well inquire how their progress is developed. Is the natural sense changed in the process by exercising the reason? as we are sometimes told it is with regard to the taste for beauty. This might, perhaps, more reasonably be thought to be the case with music. For music is become a science; it has its doctors and professors, but who ever heard of a Doctor of Taste? Yet I think it must be allowed that the highest flights of music have been reached empirically, and by observation and experience of what pleases the ear. Music, indeed, though it have mathematical analogies, is so

far removed from reason that, according to a well-known anecdote, Lord Chesterfield said that when he went to the opera he left that faculty at the door. And it is evident that good music set to indifferent words will have much the same effect upon us as when "married to immortal verse." The sound drowns the sense. Hence the little care taken with the *libretti* of operas. People are content to know the scope of a song, and interpret its expression by the notes, not by the words. Nor have musical professors ever been very remarkable for their intellectual powers, whilst many painters and sculptors, as Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Rubens, and a host of others, have also distinguished themselves in various branches of knowledge. The only exception to this remark that occurs to me is the singer Farinelli; who, by his merit and abilities, exercised great influence over Ferdinand VI. of Spain and his Queen. It is, perhaps, from this very property of not making any very serious demand upon our thoughts that music forms so agreeable a relaxation from severer pursuits. Will it then be said that the sight differs from the rest of the senses, and that, whilst these are only capable of improvement by experience and comparison, the visual sense can be brought to appreciate beauty only through the intervention of the reason?

It may, perhaps, be objected that this parallel of the senses, and especially between the palate and the eye, is trivial and degrading; and it must be allowed that there is a remarkable difference in their effects. Relish for food ministers only to our bodily wants, is common to us with the brutes, and subject to gross and disgusting abuse; whilst the sense of beauty, on the contrary, is of a much more refined and elevated character. Although not a product of the reason, taste

belongs only to a mind capable of exercising that faculty, and, by affording matter for that exercise, lifts the soul to the grandest and most enchanting contemplations. Hume has observed that the same faculties are requisite to a just taste as to reason, and that it cannot exist except where there is vivacity of apprehension, clearness of conception, exactness of distinction, and a sound understanding.¹ It is doubtless from this strong analogy that reason has often been thought necessary to the creation of taste.

The proneness to entertain that notion is also fostered by the vast superiority of the sense of sight over the rest. "The sight," says Addison, "is the most perfect and delightful of all our senses. It fills the mind with the largest variety of ideas, converses with its objects at the greatest distance, and continues the longest in action without being tired or satiated with its proper enjoyments."² This beautiful essay shows that Addison had carefully studied the nature of the sense of sight. Yet he connects its pleasures only with the imagination, and so far from ascribing any of its effects to the reason, he expressly excludes that faculty. "A beautiful prospect," he observes, "delights the soul as much as a demonstration, and a description in Homer has charmed more readers than a chapter in Aristotle." And a little further on: "We are struck, we know not how, with the symmetry of anything we see, and immediately assent to the beauty of an object without inquiring into the particular causes and occasions of it." This last observation might be extended to all our sentiments. We are sensible of the pleasure afforded by the ideas and images suggested to the mind by poetry and eloquence without being able to assign any reason for it. Such ideas seem capable of combining

¹ "Essay on the Standard of Taste."

² "Spectator," No. 411.

in some degree the pleasures of the ear with those of the sight, as the pictures which they present to the mental eye are often enhanced by the beauty of the language in which they are conveyed.

It may be further remarked that the search after beauty is conducted on an analogous principle to the search after truth, namely, by comparison. A chain of mathematical reasoning is only a series of comparisons by which the equality of things is at length demonstrated. But they differ in this, that in the search for beauty comparisons are instituted not to discover equality, but difference—the more and the less. And as mathematical truth regards *quantity*, of which there is a common measure, the deduction is unfailing, but as beauty is a *quality*, having no standard to which it may be referred, absolute certainty cannot be attained. Hence also moral reasoning is less certain than mathematical, because, besides obscurity in the words employed, it is commonly mixed with sentiment. The foundations of sentiment and reason are, however, much the same. The latter begins from self-evident truths, or such as strike us *intuitively*; and in like manner the primary feeling of beauty is intuitive.

It may here be proper to guard against the notion that if tastes be various some of them must necessarily be bad. The parallel between the eye and the palate may here be resumed. One man may prefer one sort of beauty to another, just as one palate relishes a food which another dislikes. It is not necessary, and would perhaps be impossible to reconcile these opposite tastes; but it is necessary, that in the kind preferred, taste should be good. If a man prefer Burgundy to Bordeaux there is nothing more to be said in the matter; but if he prefers bad Burgundy to good, or cannot distinguish between them, then he is either

devoid of taste, or has a depraved one. Further: a preference for one kind of wine, or one kind of beauty, need not banish all relish for another. A man of real taste will endeavour to extend the sphere of it. He will not reject the elegant and polished tragedies of Racine because he is more captivated by the rugged but natural grandeur of Shakespeare, nor spurn the grace of Raphael from preference of the bolder and more vigorous style of Michelangelo. Nothing can be more narrow than an exclusive admiration for one kind of beauty; and it may be affirmed without hesitation that the cultivation of a catholic taste is the best method to establish a good one. For it necessarily involves an extensive process of comparison; and, as before remarked, it is by comparison alone that we learn to judge of and appreciate beauty.

I have hitherto spoken chiefly of beauty in natural objects; in those of art, its nature is somewhat different. Art is a sort of new creation; instead of the objects themselves, it gives us representations of them through some medium. But here we must distinguish between the things represented. Paintings of inanimate nature, or even of animated, if confined to the brute creation, vary little in their effects from those produced by the real objects; except, perhaps, that they are mingled with the pleasure naturally arising from imitation and from admiration of the artist's skill. But when the subject is man, the interest is of a very different and much higher kind. The eye is pleased with a flower piece by Van Huysum, or a picture of animals by Snyders or Landseer, merely from the correctness of the drawing, the beauty of the colouring and the taste shown in the selection; but in art of the highest kind the mind also is touched when, in addition to the above excellences, we are filled with admiration, awe, or terror by such

paintings as Raphael's "Madonna di San Sisto," Leonardo da Vinci's "Last Supper," or Michelangelo's "Day of Judgment." From a natural sympathy, even a portrait, especially if it be of a person renowned for beauty, or for some mental qualities, gives a higher pleasure than pictures of still-life or of the brute creation; but when some action is represented, and some catastrophe of a grand or tragic kind is seen to be approaching, the mind is filled with the same emotions as are excited by the loftiest poetry and the most pathetic drama. It is in subjects of this last kind that taste in art—that is, irrespective of its technical qualities—is most required; and it is here that some process of the understanding and judgment intervenes. They present not the primary ideas of the imagination, but of imagination that has exercised itself upon them, has, as it were, manipulated them, and given them new forms and combinations.

Burke observes: "On the whole, it appears to me that what is called taste, in its most general acceptance, is not a simple idea, but is partly made up of a perception of the primary pleasures of sense, of the secondary pleasures of the imagination, and of the conclusions of the reasoning faculty concerning the various relations of these, and concerning the human passions, manners, and actions."¹ He is, of course, here speaking of the critique of taste as applied to the higher productions of eloquence, poetry, and art; which may all be brought under the same rules as to their general effects and results. The justness of his description cannot, I think, be disputed; only objection might be taken to the phrase "conclusions of the reasoning faculty," if by that be meant any formal exercise of the reasoning power. But it is probable from what follows that he only meant the understanding; the faculty that is

¹ "On Taste," p. 63 *seq.*

capable of reasoning, but can form a judgment without it by an intuitive perception of fitness and unfitness; that is, by natural good sense. Although we can imagine nothing that we have not seen, we can combine visible objects and their qualities in an endless variety. The constituent parts of a Sphinx, a Centaur, or a Mermaid are all found in nature, but not in such combinations. Even the wildest of such imaginative freaks must, however, obey the laws of good sense to avoid ridicule and contempt, which would be at once excited by the junction of incompatible and contradictory things. Hence Horace:—

“ ‘ Pictoribus atque poetis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas,
Scimus ; et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim :
Sed non ut placidis coëant immitia, non ut
Serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni.”

“ *Ars Poet.*,” 9 *seq.*

The admissibility of the first named combinations, and the incompatibility of those mentioned by Horace, the mind sees at once without the intervention of reasoning; and, even if we should attempt proof by syllogism, the major would only be a proposition drawn from that intuitive sense.

Hume, in the Essay before referred to, justly observes that though the maxim, there is no disputing about tastes, has passed into a proverb, there is a species of common sense which modifies it. “Whoever would assert,” he says, “an equality of genius and elegance between Ogilby and Milton, or Bunyan and Addison, would be thought to defend no less an extravagance than if he had maintained a mole-hill to be as high as Teneriffe, or a pond as extensive as the ocean.” Lighter shades of difference are not so easily discovered; but gradations must necessarily exist, though they are perceptible only to one in whom a natural delicacy of

taste has been cultivated, and improved by practice and observation.

The author just quoted is of opinion that "one obvious cause why many feel not the proper sentiment of beauty is the want of that *delicacy* of imagination which is requisite to convey a sensibility of the finer emotions;" and that as it is his intention "to mingle some light of the understanding with the feelings of sentiment, it will be proper to give a more accurate definition of delicacy than has hitherto been attempted."

The remark about delicacy of imagination is indisputably true; but whether it can be defined may be questioned. If it could, we might also be able to define beauty, for one is just as much a sentiment as the other. We look in vain for the promised definition; instead of which we are presented with a very apposite illustration of the matter in the humorous story in "Don Quixote" of Sancho Panza's friends and the wine. One taster thought it smacked of iron, the other of leather; and these diverse judgments, though ridiculed by the bystanders, were both confirmed, when the cask was emptied, by the discovery of a key attached to a leathern thong. Hume compares these objects to general rules of beauty. "To produce these general rules, or avowed patterns of composition," he says, "is like finding the key with the leathern thong; which justified the verdict of Sancho's kinsmen, and confounded those pretended judges who had condemned them." But here, it seems to me, the analogy between general rules and avowed patterns of composition, and the key and leathern thong completely fails. These objects are the actual physical constituents which qualify the flavour to be judged of, whilst general rules are abstractions drawn from observation and reflection on such qualities, and avowed patterns are productions

which conform to such rules. In the case of the key and thong there is a direct connection between the sense and its object; and he who should deny this connection would be plainly devoid of common sense. But it might be denied that the observations and deductions by which general rules are established have been correctly made, and the appeal, after all, would lie to sentiment. But the story is an apt illustration of the delicacy of taste, and its variety in different individuals.

On the whole, Hume's Essay leaves the impression that a standard of taste cannot be defined and established by reason; and that must necessarily be the case if its objects also are incapable of definition. And, though he does not always seem to be quite consistent in his view, or rather perhaps in the language which he uses, yet he firmly, and rightly, maintains that there is really such a standard. Such was, also, the opinion of Burke. If any one should deny it, if he should hold that what is called taste is a mere caprice, and not to be brought to any certainty of agreement among men, I would ask how he can account for the fact that certain poems and other imaginative works have held their place in the world thousands of years, whilst others have irretrievably perished? Is it not because those which were generally acceptable have been assiduously multiplied by copies, whilst inferior ones have been suffered to drop out of sight? It is a process of sifting; the bran vanishes, the solid grain remains. The same remark applies to works of art. We still possess, either in originals or copies, some of the finest works of the Greek chisel. But it is not so easy to multiply statues as manuscripts, nor are they so readily preserved from destruction; and this is still more the case with pictures.

The standard of taste, then, lies in authority, or the consentient opinion of the best judges; and, when this

has been confirmed through a long period of time, the man who should question it, though he may lay claim to boldness and originality, will hardly be admired for his judgment. What should we think of him who denied that the works of Homer and Sophocles, of Pheidias and Praxiteles, are models of majesty and beauty? It may be difficult to decide how long the period of probation should be. In the case of a poem Horace allowed a century, or three generations, and, in most cases, this would seem to be ample. The works of Raphael and the great painters of his time have lasted three or four centuries, and have been approved not only by the people among whom they were produced, but also by every civilized nation. It is not, however, to be contended that the beauty of such works must be absolute and perfect, which is a thing impossible to human nature, but only that they should possess so much relative beauty as greatly to preponderate over any faults.

The qualifications requisite to make men good critics are so rare that such critics must necessarily be few in number; and hence the necessity for collecting the judgments of many ages and different nations. "One," says Hume, "accustomed to see and examine and weigh the several performances admired in different ages and nations can alone rate the merits of a work exhibited to his view, and assign its proper rank among the productions of genius." And, again: "Strong sense united to delicate sentiment, improved by practice, perfected by comparison, and cleared of all prejudice, can alone entitle critics to this valuable character (of a true judge in the finer arts); and the joint verdict of such, wherever they are to be found, is the true standard of taste and beauty."

It is a critical point of taste to determine how far

beauty may be improved upon without falling into extravagance and affectation. There are few things in nature that we cannot fancy more beautiful. Rousseau affirms in his "Confessions" that he never saw a landscape the beauty of which imagination could not heighten. But in art, the process which converts Realism into Idealism must be conducted with great circumspection; and especially care must be taken not to o'erstep the modesty of nature. If Rousseau's sentiment be a true one, then even inanimate nature may be idealized. The process must be the selection and novel combination of real objects. The result of such a process may be seen in the landscapes of Poussin and Claude. It is probable that such scenes were never actually seen in nature; but there is nothing to prevent their possibility, and he who objects to them might, with equal reason, object to the Venus de' Medici, or the Belvedere Apollo. But this idealization of the human form is a more familiar process, and may be traced in the history and the remains of Grecian and Italian art. The most beautiful persons have faults that might be amended; but the amendment must be conformable to the truth of nature, and not a capricious product of the imagination. It was by such a method that the Greeks and Italians reached perfection in the ideal, whilst the Egyptians and other Oriental nations, by drawing only on the imagination, produced nothing but the monstrous. We still see in Greek remains the progress of art from the rudeness and deformity of what is called Dædalian sculpture, first to realism, or the truthfulness to nature in the Æginetan sculptures, then to idealism, or nature perfected, as in the works of Pheidias and Praxiteles. As to the way in which idealism was sought in Greece, we have the testimony of Socrates, who by his usual method obtains from the

painter Parrhasius the acknowledgment that the beauty of his figures was the result of collecting together a number of persons remarkable for beauty, and selecting the best parts of each.¹ The same method was doubtless followed by the sculptors, for nothing else could have insured that natural truthfulness which pervades even their most idealized works. In like manner we may trace in Italian painting the development of the imperfect figures of Giotto into the elegant yet still natural ones of Masaccio and Raphael; but in the pursuit of the ideal, Italian artists enjoyed the advantage of having Grecian models of it at hand; and it was not till these began to be studied that any great progress was made.

Idealism, then, is the improvement, or perfection, of realism. But the method has its dangers, and perhaps also its deficiencies. Individuality is necessarily lost in the process, and with it expression. In statues of the gods, indeed, which were the first and most important works of sculpture, this was in general no drawback, but the reverse; for the Greeks considered expression to be the characteristic of mortal weakness. To combine beauty with expression in just proportions is perhaps the most difficult problem in art; but to this subject there will be occasion to recur. The chief danger in the search for ideal beauty is the temptation to exaggerate, and so to fall into affectation. It arises from a desire to improve upon predecessors, and not knowing where to stop. Hence it is a besetting fault of the later schools of art; nor can it be affirmed that those of Greece were entirely free from it. Experience shows that a point is at last reached which cannot be surpassed; that all attempts to vary from its general character are alterations for the worse; and that both

¹ Xenophon, "Memorabilia," iii., 10.

preceding and subsequent productions only serve to place its superiority in a stronger light.

The sublime is essentially of the same nature as beauty, inasmuch as it appeals only to the imagination. Hence we find that the sublime and the beautiful are generally treated of together, as being analogous; one, indeed, seems gradually to merge into the other, so that it may sometimes be difficult to mark the point which separates them. The intervening stage is grandeur, which certainly excludes not beauty, and in its highest soaring touches the sublime. Sublimity is even more strongly separated from reason than beauty is; for it is not only independent of it, but sometimes contrary to it. When Scripture says that the neck of the war-horse is clothed with thunder, we are sensible of a sublime impression; but on analyzing it we find it to consist of two incongruous ideas, derived from different and uninterchangeable senses. Hence vagueness is often a striking ingredient, or, at all events, accompaniment of the sublime. Burke has even shown that a feeling of sublimity may be aroused by words to which we attach no sensible images, and quotes as an example Virgil's description of the Cyclopes forming thunder in Vulcan's cave in *Ætna*. "*Three rays of twisted showers, three of watery clouds, three of fire, and three of the winged south wind; then mixed they in the work terrific lightnings, and sound, and fear, and anger, with pursuing flames.*" This strange composition is formed into a gross body; it is hammered by the Cyclopes, it is in part polished, and partly continues rough. On this passage Burke observes, after quoting the original verses: "This seems to me admirably sublime; yet if we attend coolly to the kind of sensible images which a combination of ideas of this sort must form, the chimeras of madmen cannot appear more wild

and absurd than such a picture.”¹ This judgment on the passage is, I think, just; only the imagination must be warmed by the context, and by the beauty of the versification, before the sublimity of it can be felt; and when presented as above in a detached sentence in prose, we are sensible only of its absurdity. And we may go further than Burke, and affirm that such a combination can form no sensible image at all; for its material and concrete objects are incapable of being worked upon, and its moral and abstract ones of course still less so. It is only through the ear that such vague impressions can be conveyed, and in this respect language bears some analogy to music.

Burke derives our ideas of the sublime from terror and the instinct of self-preservation. That sublimity is often accompanied with the terrible is indisputable, but it is very questionable whether terror gives rise to the idea. Nay, it may be doubted whether a man alarmed for his own safety would be capable of appreciating the sublimity of his situation. In one place, indeed, Burke observes, that we must only have an idea of pain and danger, without being actually in such circumstances.² But it is difficult to reconcile this with what he says further on, that “there are many animals, who, though far from being large, are yet capable of raising ideas of the sublime, because they are considered as objects of terror. As serpents and poisonous animals of almost all kinds.”³ It seems to me that the mere idea of such reptiles is only one of disgust; though their actual presence may occasion terror, and thus, on Burke's theory, be then a source of the sublime. But in that case we are actually in

¹ “Inquiry, &c.,” part v., sect. 5. The remarks in this section on the connection of words and ideas are highly ingenious.

² *Ibid.*, part i., sect. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, part ii., sect. 2.

the circumstances which prevent our feeling the sublime, according to what he had previously said.

If the idea of terror indeed is necessary to that feeling, then sublimity must be always connected with fear. Is that the fact? The vastness of the ocean in repose, the solemn stillness, the unfathomable depths of the midnight heavens, beset with innumerable worlds, are surely among the sublimest of our perceptions; into which, however, no feeling of self enters, unless it be that of our own insignificance; and the sentiment they inspire is not terror, but awe. Burke, however, would connect it with terror, and observes: "Horace looks upon it as the last effort of philosophical fortitude to behold without terror and amazement this immense and glorious fabric of the universe:—

‘Hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis
Tempora momentis, sunt qui formidine nulla
Imbuti spectent.’ ”¹

But by *formido* Horace means awe, not fear. If that spectacle were terrible, we should live in fear all our days, and our existence would be unendurable. Nor is that awe an immediate sensation, but the result of reason and reflection.

Let us picture to ourselves a savage and rocky coast, the sea lashed into fury by the winds, breakers dashing on the rocks and with deafening sound melting into spray, a rudderless, storm-tossed bark, with shivered sails, now lifted on the wave's crest, now half-engulphed, driving helplessly to destruction, whilst the affrighted crew cling to the masts and rigging, making what signals they can for succour. Such a spectacle is sublime; but to feel its sublimity one must, like the man described by Lucretius, survey it from the shore. The hapless crew are thinking only of self-preservation;

¹ "A Philosophical Inquiry, &c.," part ii., sect. 6.

a very lively apprehension of danger absorbs in them all ideas of sublimity, whilst the spectator's sense of it arises not from terror, but from the display of the irresistible force of nature, combined, perhaps, with sympathy for the victims of it.

True sublimity, from its vagueness and immensity, is incapable of representation by art, which must present us with something definite. Such incapacity is necessarily true of impressions transmitted through the ear; and of these it may be doubted whether even poetry can convey an adequate idea. Yet they hardly reach the same height as the ideas derived through the eye. The shouts of multitudes, the tumultuous din of battle, the roar of mighty cataracts, the sudden crash and long, reverberating peals of thunder, are, for the most part, finite in their nature, and may always be imagined greater than they are. The ear is capable of taking in their whole extent; but the eye can measure only a very small part of infinite space, and the mind conceive of infinite duration only by the addition of fractions, which belong not to its nature and can never reach their object.

To pursue such speculations, however, would be foreign to the main scope of this work; and I have endeavoured to convey some rudimentary notions of Beauty, Sublimity and Taste, only so far as I hope they may be useful towards the knowledge of the limits, ends, and means of Art.

SECTION I.

OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF IMITATIVE ART, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

A DESIRE to make the gods present to their worshippers in all probability gave birth to Art; it is, at all events, certain that religion was its foster-mother, both in ancient and modern times. Its history presents some striking analogies in its earlier days in Greece and its resurrection in Italy some two thousand years later, but at the same time some remarkable contrasts.

The need of a visible object to attract the imagination and fix the attention of the worshipper was at first satisfied with shapeless things, as rude stones, wooden stakes, and the like; later they assumed the form of a column or a pyramid, and derived a mysterious sanctity from the ceremony of consecration.¹ The next step was the *Xoanon* (ξύανον), a wooden image with some likeness of the human figure; but the arms were fixed to the sides, the legs and feet were joined together, and the eyes were denoted by a mere line. To pursue the steps by which more perfect form was reached, belongs to the history of Art, and I shall pass on at once to the age immediately preceding that of Pheidias. To the Greek, the image was not a mere lifeless stone, but the incarnate god, a real presence, as in the doctrine of transubstantiation. This has been illustrated by the story in Philostratus of a man who wanted to marry the Venus of Cnidus, and was dissuaded from his pro-

¹ Müller, "Archäologie der Kunst," § 66.

ject by Apollonius, not on the ground of its absurdity, but because it would bring upon him the punishment of Ixion.¹

In the century which preceded the birth of Pheidias, the Greek mind, and that of the Athenians especially, had been in a state of ferment. The constitution of Athens, on which city, as the centre of Greek Art, our view must be chiefly fixed, was in that unsettled condition which prompts the bold and ambitious to make themselves supreme. After a successful usurpation of the government for more than thirty years, Peisistratus died in B.C. 527. He transmitted his tyranny, in the ancient sense of that term, to his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who ruled several years in peace. But they had not the wisdom and moderation of their father. In consequence of a private wrong, Hipparchus fell by the avenging daggers of Harmodius and Aristogeiton; and, just as in Rome a few years later, a private injury became a public concern, and the last Tarquin, by his outrage on Lucretia, occasioned the fall of his dynasty and the establishment of the Roman Republic, so the deed of Harmodius and Aristogeiton became the signal, and the song which celebrated it the watchword, of political freedom. After a few years of misrule, the last of the Peisistratidæ was expelled from Athens, and that democracy established which lasted, with little interruption, till the city fell under the power of Macedon.

After their domestic broils, the Athenians, as well as the Greeks in general, were engaged and excited by the life and death struggle with Asia. Sympathy with a kindred tribe had urged the Athenians to aid the Ionians of Asia Minor in their revolt from Persia. During five years it was successfully maintained; in the sixth, the Persians suppressed it by the capture of

¹ Friedrichs, "Praxiteles," p. 30. Apollonius, however, might have been humouring the man's madness.

Miletus. An incident connected with that event shows the excitable temperament of the Athenians. The poet Phrynichus made it the subject of a tragedy which drew tears from the whole audience; and they further vented their feelings by inflicting a heavy fine upon the author, and forbidding his play to be again represented.

In a little while Greece itself was threatened with subjection by the invasion of the Persians; they penetrated into Attica, but Athens was saved for awhile by the victory of Marathon. Ten years later, B.C. 480, the invasion was renewed, and Xerxes succeeded in taking that city. His success was but temporary, and the battle of Salamis soon after compelled his flight to Persia. And, though in the following year Athens was again occupied by the Persian general Mardonius, the battles of Plataea and Myealë soon restored to the Athenians the quiet possession of their capital.

Such were, briefly, the chief political events which preceded the most marking epoch of Art. The Persians had for the most part destroyed the temples of Athens, especially those on the Acropolis, which, at the date when Pericles assumed the government, were still a heap of calcined ruins. Kimon, his predecessor, had made some restorations; but it was the good fortune of Pericles not only to find in Pheidias and others artists capable of carrying out his magnificent plans, but also an abundant treasury, and ample means wherewith to execute them. The leading part played by Athens in the Persian wars had placed her at the head of the Grecian States, whose contributions to the treasury of Delos for the common defence, were continued, and even augmented, after the necessity for them had ceased. Pericles scrupled not to divert a large portion of these confederate funds for the adornment of Athens, and they were increased by the spoils fairly won from

the Persians. It is rarely, if ever, that Art has been promoted by so extraordinary a combination of favourable circumstances; a powerful and ambitious leader of cultivated taste, an ample field for its display, almost unlimited means, and artists of the rarest excellence. Architecture flourished no less than the sister arts, and under the practical direction of Ictinus arose on the Acropolis those beautiful temples and magnificent Propylæa, which in their ruins still adorn it.

The consummate taste of this epoch necessarily had its antecedents. Art and literature go hand-in-hand; they are of kindred spirit, and it may be safely affirmed that Art has never flourished much in an unlettered age. The remark may be illustrated by the progress of both at Athens. Peisistratus, by collecting the scattered Homeric episodes, had erected a perpetual model of simple grandeur, whence the Attic drama, one of the greatest achievements of the human mind, drew its inspiration, and sometimes its subjects. Thus Æschylus was accustomed to say that his plays were slices from the Homeric poems. The essence of both consists in a lively imitation of nature, and of all the epic poets Homer is the most dramatic. Many of his scenes pass in dialogue, his descriptions are short and striking, he avoids narrative, and shows everything in action. Thus, as Lessing remarks, even the shield of Achilles is shown in the making of it, whilst Virgil, with much tamer effect, describes that of Æneas after it is completed. Hence, when the *αοιδοί*, or bards, recited Homer's poems with fit gesticulation and appropriate inflection of voice, the effect must have been highly dramatic. From such recitations to the establishment of the drama there was but a step.

Imitation, the essential feature of such representations, is also the life-giving principle of Art. Of all imitations

the drama is the most perfect. It strikes at once the ear and the eye; we hear the progress of an action whilst we see the persons engaged in it, and the emotions which it excites in them. It has been sometimes questioned whether Aristotle rightly makes poetry an imitative Art, and there are, no doubt, some kinds of poetry which can hardly be brought under that description. Even the epos as conducted by Virgil and most other poets is essentially narrative. But the poetry current at Athens in Aristotle's time consisted almost exclusively of Homer and the dramatists; and it was these he had in view in his parallel in the "Poetics" between poetry and painting. Such a parallel shows the close analogy between poetry and imitative Art; and it was preserved in the course which they respectively ran. The loftiness of the *Æschylean* tragedies was rivalled by the grandeur of the *Pheidian* sculptures. In the next generation grandeur is replaced by classic beauty, as in the plays of Sophocles, and a little later in the works of Scopas and Praxiteles. The third step marks a further descent towards real life and its passions. The scenes of Euripides are less lofty, but more touching, than those of his predecessors, and such also is the character of the third and following schools of Grecian sculpture. In all these stages it will be observed that literature takes the precedence, moulding the public mind towards certain sentiments which form the taste of the age, and that also of the artists who would please it.

The genius of Pheidias was stimulated not only by the lofty tone of thought which prevailed at Athens in his youth, but also by the peculiar nature of the task assigned to him. What greater work could have been proposed than the restoration of the temples with befitting splendour? At once architect, sculptor, and

painter, Pheidias was intrusted with the superintendence of these works, both in their general design and their details. He had to make the statue of the deity as well as to design its house. The more mechanical parts were indeed assigned to others, but everything was governed by his taste.

Between architecture and sculpture there is a close connection. Lamennais is of opinion that architecture was the prior Art, which from its necessity is probably true; that bas-relief was then used to adorn it; that by separating figures in bas-relief from their ground came statuary; and from the painting of bas-reliefs, pictures.¹ But this, however ingenious and plausible, rests on no authority. It cannot, indeed, be doubted that Relief, both low in frieze and high in metope, originated in architectural decoration. But it is probable that statues of the gods existed before temples were erected for them, and decorated with bas-reliefs. Painting was only a subsidiary Art in the adornment of temples. I cannot recall any instance of a painted deity being made an object of worship in a temple in ancient times, though such are found in private houses and profane public buildings at Pompeii. But the architectural members were often painted and gilded in the best period of Attic Art. Pheidias' nephew, Panæus, had adorned an enclosure round the temple of Zeus at Olympia with a variety of mythological pictures.² A statue better represented a present god than a painting. It filled the eye and stirred the imagination of the worshipper far more than a painted figure could have done; because it approached much nearer to reality, and permitted the addition of attri-

¹ "De l'art et du beau," p. 75.

² Plin. N. H., xxxv., 34; Pausan., v., 11, 5. The remains of painting observ-

able in the Parthenon are due to the Byzantines, after they had converted it into a church.

butes and ornaments, of which a picture was incapable. Thus the Olympian Zeus sat enthroned, holding in one hand a variously inlaid sceptre surmounted by an eagle, in the other, a statuette of Nikē, or Victory. The Athena of the Acropolis also bore this latter emblem, with a spear instead of a sceptre, and at her feet a shield, attributes typical of her as Pallas, or the goddess of war. Add that these statues were rendered imposing by the costliness of their materials, being partly made of ivory and gold; a remnant of barbarism which must rather have detracted from their merit as works of Art in the eye of the cultivated spectator, however calculated to strike the imagination of the vulgar. In like manner the religious pictures of the early Renaissance were profusely adorned with glories and gilding, which gradually vanished as taste improved.

It is fortunate that the creed of the Greeks was highly favourable to Art. Gibbon has observed that their language gave a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. The same lively and penetrating genius which formed their tongue was exercised in the development of their religion, and endowed all the phenomena of nature with a spiritual life and a bodily form. The sun, the moon, the air, the sea, the earth itself became divinities. Every river had its god; the woods were peopled with Nymphs and Hamadryads, the sea with Nereids and Tritons. When Agamemnon swears an oath, he calls not only on Zeus to witness it, but also on the Sun, the Earth, and the Rivers.¹ The dwellings of the gods were on the mountain-tops, so intimately were they bound up with the material creation. Zeus promulgates his behests from Mount Ida; the celestial

¹ "Iliad," iii., 276.

family assemble for council, or for feast and revelry on the summit of Olympus, whose name becomes synonymous with heaven. They mount to it in mists and descend in the rainbow. Hephæstus has his workshop amid the subterranean fires of a volcano ; Æolus, ruler of the winds, inhabits a mountain cavern. When lightnings rent the sky and the thunderbolt crashed down, it was the angry Zeus who launched his weapons at some offender. And as the Greeks thus animated all visible nature with a soul, so also they endowed the faculties of the mind and the passions of the heart with a body. From the head of Zeus sprang Athena, the personification of intellectual power. Hermes, the patron of learning and commerce, presided in the gymnasium and the market. Ares held the doubtful scales of war, in which he sometimes engaged in person. Beauty was personified in the lovely form of Aphroditë; Love, her offspring, and even the Furies of remorse and despair, were proper and visible deities. What a field was thus open to the sculptor! A pantheon of gods with human form, and differing from man only in beauty, size, and power. They comprehended the whole scale of majesty and beauty: the sublime tranquillity of Zeus, the more variable Poseidon, the awful Hades, the truculent Ares, the graceful Apollo, the agile Hermes, the athletic Heracles, the voluptuous and somewhat feminine Dionysus. So among the goddesses the matronly and majestic Hera, the severe beauty of Athena, the nimble and graceful Artemis, Demeter, grand and venerable. Aphroditë, as the generic goddess of beauty, combined several of these forms; as the bearing mother, or Venus Genitrix, making some approach to Hera, as Victrix to Athena; but outstripping all the rest as the ideal representative of female loveliness, such as she showed herself when

the rival goddesses displayed their naked charms to the enraptured shepherd of Mount Ida. The Grecian mythology, the invention of poets, showed all these gods engaged in a variety of adventures originating, like those of mankind, from their passions and caprices; taking part in human quarrels and mingling with men in amorous intrigue; feeling the stings of love, the pangs of jealousy, and the tenderer emotions of parental and fraternal affection.

Athenian art was also modified by three characteristics which especially distinguished the race—humanity, cheerfulness, and a love of the beautiful. At a very remote period of their history human sacrifices were abolished and offerings of cakes substituted in their stead. This humanity was extended to the brute creation. Although animal sacrifices were allowed, they were not looked upon as altogether justified. An ox having devoured some sacrificial cakes, was slaughtered by a bystander with a hatchet; and the man having run away, the hatchet was arraigned for the crime in the Prytaneium. Hence the appointment of a priest called Bouphonos (*βουφόνος*, ox-slayer), as guardian of humanity, whose curse rested on its violators—those who refused the use of fire and water, to direct those who had lost their way, to aid the burial of a neglected corpse, in short, to perform such offices as are comprised in the Christian precept to do unto others as we would be done by. The Athenians alone of all the Greeks had erected an altar to Clemency, as sensible of its need in the vicissitudes of human life.¹ Instead of the bloody sports of the arena, which formed the chief delight of the Romans, in the Grecian festivals ingenuous youths amicably

¹ Petit, "Legg. Att.," lib. v., t. ii., 5, &c.; Plato, "De Legg.," p. 782 c.; Pausan., i., 28, 11.

contended for the simple meed of a laurel wreath. The additional honour of a statue was allowed at the expense of the victor's friends, or of the State to which he belonged. Here was a further encouragement to Art, and especially in the rules by which such statues were regulated. They were required to be of ideal beauty, except in the case of a champion who had been thrice victorious, when a portrait statue was allowed.

Greek cheerfulness is manifested in many ways. Although the "Iliad" abounds with scenes of battle and slaughter, they are rarely, or never, revolting, and are intermixed with pictures of feasting and revelry among the immortal gods themselves, who are sometimes seized with inextinguishable laughter. No such scene occurs in the "Æneid," nor, I think, in any other epic poem. The picture in the "Odyssey" of the infernal regions is almost an Elysium in comparison with the Christian hell. Attic tragedy was naturally more severe. But even here murder and death were forbidden to be shown on the stage; and the poets who contended for the dramatic prize were obliged to add to their tragic trilogy a satiric play, in which the tricks and humours of the Bacchanal crew relieved the minds of the spectators from too sorrowful a tension. The terrible Furies were converted into venerable and benign goddesses, and were represented in Art of beautiful aspect. Even Medusa's petrifying head wanted not a certain beauty. Death was personified not, as with us, by a hideous skeleton, but as the gentle twin brother of Sleep, and so far from terrible that statues of him have sometimes been mistaken by modern critics for Eros, or Cupid. The brothers closely resembled each other.¹ There is in the Louvre

¹ A statue of one in the Uffizi at Florence ("Gabinetto dell' Ermafrodito," No. 320,) has been wrongly restored as Eros. Instead of a bow, h

(No. 493) a charming statue of Death, or the Genius of Eternal Repose,¹ which, though of Roman execution, was doubtless taken from a Grecian model. A beautiful youth, crowned with poppies, leans against the trunk of a tree; his hair descends in flowing curls, his arms are crossed over his head, his sweet and somewhat feminine features seem relaxing into a gentle sleep. It may be observed that his legs are crossed, in which position both brothers were represented in order to denote repose. When Hera would persuade Sleep to visit Zeus, she promises him a throne made by Hephæstus, with a footstool for his feet,² doubtless because he made but little use of them.

As the ideal world of the Greeks thus abounded with images of dignity and beauty, so the real world also presented the same ideas incorporated. In physical beauty the Greek race has probably never been equalled. Adamantius, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, has described its characteristic qualities before they were debased by barbarian mixture. A physician by profession, Adamantius was well qualified to observe and appreciate peculiarities of physiognomy and form; and his curiosity had led him to consult earlier writers on the subject, as Polemon and others. The Hellenic and Ionic races, where their purity had been preserved, were in stature rather tall,

should have held the horn of dreams, or a torch reversed. Pausanias's description of the twins has been sometimes misunderstood (v. 18). Lessing, in his treatise, "How the ancients represented Death," observes that it is not clear from his words which was the white one and which the black ("Prose Works," p. 221, Bell and Sons). Yet it is plain enough that the white boy is Sleep; for he was really asleep, whilst the other, Death, only *seemed* to be so.

Lessing's difficulty arose from a mis-translation.

¹ It is called Death in the Louvre Catalogue, but, as there are no attributes, it might equally be Sleep. In the chest of Cypselus, which Pausanias describes, the brothers were distinguished by their colour; but this is not to be regarded as a rule. Horace speaks of *pallida* Mors.

² "Iliad," xiv. 240.

broad-chested, well-built; the head was of middling size and round, the neck robust, the legs were straight, the extremities finely moulded. The somewhat square face was characterized by the unbroken line formed by the forehead and nose, the cheeks retired from the chin with a gently-rounded surface, the forehead was low and but slightly curved, protuberances over the inner angles of the brows marked the stronger characters. The nose was perfectly straight, the upper eyelid projected sharply, the inner part of the eye was deeply set, the ears were beautifully formed. A striking feature was the round and nobly-moulded chin, sometimes, but rarely, indented with a dimple. The lips were thin, but the mouth had a sweet expression. The eyes, full of light, were at once moist and vivid; the complexion inclined to the fair, and the hair was yellow.¹

This description must apply to a handsome Greek ephebus, and its general truth is attested by the statues that have come down to us. Finer models it was impossible to have. The females partook the general character, with the natural differences of sex. A distinction among men was the mode of wearing the hair. In ancient times long locks (*βόστρυχοι*) were usually worn by youths. Orestes is described in the "Electra" of Euripides,² as cutting them off at his father's tomb, and the old man who finds them advises Electra to compare them with her own; for in children of the same father it was natural that both should be yellow. This coloured hair seems to have been prevalent with the well-born, and eulogies of it are often found in the ancient poets. Sculptors denoted the colour of hair by the way in which they executed it. Mengs, the friend and sometimes the instructor of

¹ Adamantius, ap. Müller, "Archæol.," p. 473.

² Ver. 515 *seq.*

Winckelmann, observes that black hair is shown rough, as in the heads of Zeus, whilst light hair is smoothly wrought, as in statues of Dionysus, Aphroditë and Apollo.¹ In the "Bacchæ" of Euripides Pentheus remarks that the flowing locks of Dionysus were meant to recommend him to the female sex.² Among the more ancient Athenians, it was customary to gather the hair into the Ionic *crobylus* (κρόβυλος), or top-knot, as we see in statues of Apollo, Eros, Artemis, etc. But the youthful athletes and gymnasts wore it cropped and slightly curled, like that of Hermes. The stiff and formal rows of curls seen in archaic statues are Doric. Eyebrows that met together seem sometimes to have been admired, as those of Antinöus, but occur not in ideal Greek statues of the earlier period. Philostratus regards them as an agreeable trait in Rhodogynë, but still more so their arched form.³ She also had hair more yellow than gold, and if her brows were of the same colour, they would not have had that somewhat repulsive effect of meeting black ones. The beard, its more or less volume, or its absence, was also of course a distinctive mark of age and character.

In the youth of Pheidias sculpture had reached a point which needed only the hand of genius to perfect it. In what state he found it may be seen by many examples still extant. Among the best are the pedimental statues found at the temple of Athena, sometimes styled of Zeus Panhellenius, in the island of Ægina.⁴ The original remains, restored by Thorwaldsen, are now in the *Glyptothek* at Munich; a collection which, though inferior to our own in the value of its contents, is

¹ "Opere," t. ii., p. 27.

² Ver. 453 *seq.*

³ "Imagines," p. 817 (ed. Jacobi, p. 60).

⁴ Described by Müller in his "Ægi-

natica," and Thiersch in his "Amalthæa." Drawings by Cockerell in the "Journal of Science and Art," copied in Müller's "Denkmäler," B. i. There are casts in the British Museum.

admirably arranged to display the progress of sculpture. The Æginetan temple appears to have been built soon after the Persian wars, or about B.C. 480, and consequently in the generation immediately preceding that of Pheidias. Both pediments represented combats under the presidence and conduct of Athena, whose statue occupied the middle space. The figures of the western pediment are best preserved, and are supposed to represent the fight of the Greeks and Trojans for the body of Patroclus, whilst the eastern one showed a like struggle over the fallen Oïkles. The statues are under life-size, that of Athena, the largest, being only five feet nine and a half inches high; but for finish and delicacy of execution they are among the finest of the period. Their distinguishing character is truth to nature. The muscles, bones, and joints are strongly and correctly marked, the gestures are animated and varied, but the outlines are hard and angular. We should look in vain for the ideal beauty before described. The heads are characterized by a retreating forehead, pointed nose, long flat eyes, flat cheeks, angular and strongly-marked chin, and high-placed ears. But the most remarkable characteristic is the expression of the faces, or rather the want of it. Although the struggle is a life and death one, they have nothing ferocious; on the contrary, they wear that complacent, one might say insipid, smile, which seems in general to characterize early Greek art. In one of the metopes of the temple at Selinus, which was about a century older, this trait, perhaps from want of technical skill in the sculptor, becomes absolute caricature. Perseus, with a smile of satisfaction, is cutting off Medusa's head, whose enormous mouth wears a grin which would be hideous were it not ludicrous. In the Æginetan sculptures the arrange-

ment of the hair, and of what little drapery there is, is stiff and formal. There are traces of colour, and holes in the marble show that weapons and other objects in metal were originally attached to the statues.

The sculptures on the temple erroneously called *Theseum*, at Athens, show an equally, or perhaps more, advanced stage of Art. Lübke, indeed, attributes them to Myron, which would make them later than Pheidias; but it is difficult to reconcile that opinion with his view, probably a correct one, that the temple is of the age of Kimon. Its history, however, is involved in obscurity. The sculptures which adorned the pediments, if they ever existed, have disappeared. The friezes at the pro-naos and posticus are the earliest extant examples of that kind of sculpture. The former appears to represent the battle of the gods and giants; the latter, the combats of Kentaurs and the Lapithæ. These are executed with great freedom and animation. The metopes are sadly mutilated. The subjects of those of the eastern front are the labours of Heracles; those which adorn each side of the temple at its eastern end represent the exploits of Theseus, and it is from these that the temple has got its current name.

Another example of this, or, perhaps, a rather earlier period, is the large triangular pedestal in the Louvre commonly called the Altar of the Twelve Gods, but which, no doubt, was the basis of a tripod. The three sides are covered with sculptures in low relief. In the three upper compartments are represented the twelve greater gods; in those beneath, on a larger scale, are the three *Charities*, or Graces; the three *Horæ* or Seasons; and the three *Eumenides* or Furies.¹ Müller thinks the work may be a copy from the Altar of the Twelve Gods, erected by the Peisistratidæ about Olympiad 64 (B.C. 524). The style

¹ Engraved in Müller's "Denkmäler," pl. xx., xxi.

² Ibid., xii., xiii.

of the figures, their pose, the symmetrical folds of the drapery, the formal arrangement of the hair and beard, are archaic; but the freedom and grace of the attitudes show a great advance in Art; whence some critics have conjectured that they are a later copy from some antique monument; an opinion which strengthens Müller's view. For this archaic style, called also the hieratic, because sculpture was principally employed in adorning temples, was adopted for that purpose after sculpture had attained to greater perfection. Sacerdotalism is averse from change, and the same custom will be observed in the history of Italian Art. The Pompeian Artemis in the Neapolitan Museum is a good example of it. The style of the statue is archaic; the hair and drapery are stiff and formal; but the general freedom of the execution shows that it belongs to a later period than these traits would seem to indicate. It is also valuable as an example of *circumlitio*, or painting. When found, the colours were quite fresh, and it still bears traces of gilding. Of the style of Canachus there is a specimen in the bronze Apollo in the British Museum. The relief of Castor taming a horse, in the same collection, is probably a copy from an original of the same age, and shows a near approach to the vigour and freedom of the Parthenon frieze.

The so-called Harpy monument in the British Museum is another example of the Art of this period. Also the relief of the Marathonian hoplite Aristion, at present kept in the Theseum at Athens. As it must have been executed soon after the battle of Marathon, B.C. 490, a date with which the characters of the inscription agree, it may be regarded as an undoubted work of the generation immediately preceding Pheidias. The sepulchral *stelē* on which it is sculptured, besides the name of Aristion bears also that of the sculptor,

Aristocles. It is a flat marble column about seven feet high and one and a-half broad, but tapering towards the top. The figure, being of large life-size, pretty well fills it, and represents in profile, with the rigidity of the period, a warrior in complete armour with a lance in his hand.¹ Traces of colour are still visible. It may be observed that there are several faults in this figure. The thighs are disproportionately large; the hand is badly executed, and though the figure is in profile, the full eye is shown, in the Egyptian and antique Grecian manner. Hence it may, perhaps, be inferred that sculpture had not yet made such progress at Athens as in others parts of Greece, especially Argos and Sicyon. This view gains probability from the fact that Pheidias, though an Athenian, took not a fellow-countryman for his master, but became the pupil of Ageladas of Argos. We need only compare this monument with the tomb of Teisander, erected B.C. 414, discovered at Athens a few years ago, to perceive what influence Pheidias had exercised on Art. The men and horse sculptured on this tomb might almost be worthy of a place in the frieze of the Parthenon.²

The above examples may serve to show the state of sculpture when Pheidias began his career. Considerable technical perfection had been attained; the human form was pretty correctly shown, but in a realistic style and deficient in ideal beauty and grandeur. Hegias, or Hegesias, who initiated Pheidias in the rudiments of the Art, and his contemporaries at Athens, Critios and Nesiotes, are described by Lucian³ as having had a correct but stiff and formal style, which, we may

¹ See the coloured plate in Rangabé, "Ant. Hell.," t. i. (end). Also the engraving in Overbeck, "Gesch. der Plastik," B. i., S. 140.

² Engraved in Dyer's "Athens," p. 497.

³ "Rhetor. Præcept.," 9.

conclude, very much resembled that of the Æginetan marbles. Critios and Nesiotes made statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton to replace those which had been carried off by the Persians. Of these some copies are still extant, that in the Neapolitan Museum being considered the best. But the history of the group, which appears to have been in bronze, is so obscure that the marble copy at Naples can hardly be regarded as a safe criterion of the Art of the period.

As already intimated, Pheidias, dissatisfied with his Athenian master, sought instruction from the Argive Ageladas, of whom Polycleitus and Myron were also pupils. But that sculptor, as Overbeck remarks, seems not to have had genius enough to found a school; for his three pupils, each eminent in his way, are dissimilar in style, and show no traces of a common teaching. It is probable that Pheidias acquired from Ageladas somewhat more correctness and a great deal more freedom than he could have learnt at Athens; his grandeur was the product of his own genius. He endowed these realistic figures with ideal beauty, and animated the lifeless stone with an apparent soul; qualities which seem not to have been inspired by Ageladas, for they are not found in Polycleitus and Myron.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the style of Pheidias. It is, perhaps, better known and more readily distinguished than that of any other ancient sculptor, both from its singular grandeur and from considerable specimens of it being still extant. A visit to the British Museum will convey a better idea of it than any description. It should be noted, however, that the works of Pheidias were far too numerous to have been executed by his own hand. The Parthenon was completed in a few years, and how should a single workman,

sometimes employed also by foreign States, have executed all the sculptures which adorned it? It is probable that in most cases he gave only the designs, and put the finishing hand to the most important of them. He presided over a large school of able pupils, whose names will be found recorded in the histories of Art.

Pheidias died imprisoned on charges of peculation and impiety, falsely made for political purposes, in B.C. 432, at about the age of fifty-six. The lives of men of genius have often been unhappy; but that so great an artist, who had done his country immortal honour, should have thus ignominiously perished is, perhaps, unparalleled in the annals of misfortune. His two most distinguished pupils, Agoracritus and Alcamenes, contended for the execution of a statue of Aphroditë to be placed in the gardens just outside the walls of Athens. Alcamenes is said to have carried off the prize, not so much by the merit of his work as from his being an Athenian by birth.¹ However this may be, it cannot be doubted that beauty was the forte of Alcamenes. Pheidias is said to have put the last hand to his Aphroditë, which was a model of female loveliness. Alcamenes even gave a certain grace to a statue of Hephæstus by representing his lameness in a way that almost concealed it. Thus, even in the first Attic school the transition was already preparing from the grand to the beautiful. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the different Grecian schools are to be separated by the hard and fast lines laid down by some systematizing writers. The grandeur which is said to have characterized the first school seems to have existed, in any eminent degree, only in the works of Pheidias. This school embraced all the subjects found in later

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxvi., 4, 3.

Art, and ranged from the sublimity of gods and heroes to the common place of atheletes and portraits, and from the tragic and pathetic to the trivial incidents of domestic life. Thus Polycleitus took for a subject two naked boys playing at dice, and Myron the *pristæ*, or sawyers. This last artist was celebrated for his representations of animals. His cow became the theme of several poets, and his oxen were thought worthy of a place in the temple of the Palatine Apollo. But this is hardly a high walk of Art. His gods seem to have been wanting in majesty, his heroes had little dignity or expression, and were remarkable only for the lifelike rendering of the body. A celebrated work of his was a statue of the Argive runner Ladas, who gained the prize at Olympia, but died in consequence of his exertions. He seemed to be in the act of springing to seize the prize, whilst the last breath of his exhausted lungs fluttered on his lips.¹ We are thought to possess several copies of his Discobolus, or quoit-thrower. One in the Villa Massimi at Rome, and another in the Vatican, differ only in the position of the head. In that in the Vatican, the head is inclined downwards, and the player seems intent on the direction of his cast. In the other statue the head is turned upwards towards the right shoulder and the quoit, as if putting forth all his strength in the throw. The latter is undoubtedly nearer to the original; for Lucian, on whose authority it is attributed to Myron, describes it in such an attitude, and graphically remarks that the player seems about to throw himself with the quoit.² Its originality is also attested by Quintilian, who calls it "elaborately distorted;" but he questions whether one who should condemn it on that account would not be but a poor judge of Art, since it might claim a high place for its

¹ Pausanias, iii., 21, 1.

² "Philopseudes," 18.

novelty and difficulty.¹ The head of the Vatican copy, and of another similar one in the British Museum, seems to be no restoration, but part of the original work; which may serve to show what may be seen in other instances, that copyists both of statues and pictures occasionally took liberties with the originals. It may be possible, however, that the artist himself sometimes made alterations in a *replica*.

Polycleitus, who has been placed by several ancient writers in the first rank of sculptors, often took his subjects from common life. Xenophon put him on a level with Homer and Sophocles as poets, and with Xeuxis as a painter;² and Cicero was of opinion that he reached perfection.³ But a later and more fastidious school discovered that while in the beauty of the human form he improved upon nature, he failed to give majesty and authority to the gods.⁴ The statue called the Diadumenos, a youth binding his head with a fillet, formerly in the Villa Farnese at Rome, and now in the British Museum, is thought to be a copy from Polycleitus.⁵ Another celebrated statue of his was the Doryphoros, spear-bearer, or guardsman, which from its admirable proportions was esteemed a canon of the youthful manly form.⁶ We probably possess several copies of this; one in the first corridor of the Uffizi at Florence; another in the Palazzo Pitti; one, much mutilated in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican; and a fourth at Naples, in the third portico of the Museum. His Apoxyomenos, or athlete scraping himself with a strigil, may probably have been the model of that attributed to Lysippus.

Even Pheidias disdained not to enter into competi-

¹ "Instit.," ii., 13.

² "Memor.," i., 4, 2.

³ "Brutus," 18, 70.

⁴ Quint., *ibid.*, xii., 10, 7.

⁵ Lucian, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Idem., "De Saltat.," 75.

tion in this more familiar style with artists who principally excelled in it. He contended with Polycleitus and four other sculptors for the statue of an Amazon, to be placed in the temple of the Ephesian Diana. The palm was adjudged to Polycleitus; Pheidias took the second place, Cresilas the third.¹ Such a result conveys a high opinion of the merit of Polycleitus in the more realistic style. We are thought to have copies of these works in three statues which, with certain differences of attitude, &c., are so similar in size, general style, dress, and motive, as to suggest a great probability that they were executed in competition for a given subject. The only one, however, which can be referred to its author with tolerable certainty is the wounded Amazon in the Capitoline Museum, as Pliny describes that of Cresilas to have been so represented.² The Amazon of Pheidias was resting on her lance;³ whence it has been thought that the statue in the Vatican, with the right arm raised above the head, may be a copy from it. She is shown on a gem in the same attitude, but with the addition of the lance, which she grasps with both hands. The Amazon in the Braccio Nuovo, showing her wearied and exhausted, the right arm resting on her head, is supposed to represent the original by Polycleitus; but the authority for this view is but small.⁴

Cresilas seems to have been fond of taking wounded or dying persons for his subjects. Pliny describes a statue by him of a man dying of his wounds, so admirably executed that one might reckon how much breath was left him;⁵ a description which would suit the

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxiv., 19.

² Ibid., 15.

³ Lucian, "Imagg.," 4.

⁴ For descriptions and engravings of these statues see Overbeck, "Gesch. der

Plastik," B. ii., S. 346. But the engraving of that attributed to Polycleitus is from a bronze statuette at Florence, and not from the marble statue in the Vatican. ⁵ "N. H.," xxxiv., 19, 14.

Dying Gaul of the Capitol; a work, however, probably two or three centuries later. There was discovered on the Athenian Acropolis, long before the German excavations were begun, the basis of a statue with an inscription purporting that it was erected in honour of Diitrephes by his son Hermolycus, and that it was made by Cresilas. Pausanias, with that accuracy which all who have had occasion to follow him must have observed and admired, records the existence of such a statue at the exact spot where the base was found, and says that it was a bronze portrait statue (εἰκών) of Diitrephes pierced with arrows.¹ He appears to have met such a death at the hands of Bæotians in B.C. 414, and Pausanias expresses surprise at the manner of it; as no Greeks, except Cretans, used the bow. But Cresilas was a native of Cydonia in Crete, and may have adopted the weapon most familiar to him. The characters of the inscription agree with the date assigned for his death, which shows that Cresilas must have been a younger contemporary of Pheidias. Such painful subjects were not uncommon in the first period of really classical Art. The Philoctetes by Pythagoras of Rhegium may be cited as another instance; in which the pain of his ulcered foot was so accurately rendered that the spectators themselves seemed to feel it.²

The progress of painting is more obscure than that of sculpture, not only because there are no remains of it in its earlier stages, but also because its history is defective, as the Greeks did not treat of it till long after they had written on sculpture. Nevertheless, two facts seem to stand out distinctly: first, that it had a very early origin; second, that it was not subservient to religion, but to civil and political life.

Drawing necessarily preceded painting. It must

¹ Lib. i., 23, 3.

² Plin., xxxiv., 59.

have been known in the age of Homer, as is plain from his description of the shield of Achilles. Yet that poet mentions not coloured drawings, or pictures, though paint was then used in adorning ships. According to Pliny, the first drawing was made by tracing round a shadow cast on a wall. The story runs that the daughter of Butades, a Sicyonian potter, being enamoured of a youth who was going abroad, drew lines round the shadow of his face thrown on the wall by a lanthorn. Her father made a copy in baked clay, which was preserved in the Nymphæum at Corinth till that city was taken by Mummius.¹ *Se non è vero è ben trovato.* The Sicyonian Telephanes and the Corinthian Aridices are said to have first made other lines within an outline, showing apparently the joints and muscles.² Cimon of Cleonæ, whose age is uncertain, drew his figures looking backwards, upwards, or downwards; before which alteration there could hardly have been a proper picture. He also showed the joints and veins, and the folds in drapery.³ The first attempt at painting seems to have been in monochrome. The Corinthian Ecphantès first used colours, made by grinding a shell or a piece of pottery. That the Greeks learnt colouring from the Egyptians is, probably, a story arising from the tendency to ascribe to imitation what were, probably, independent inventions.

The antiquity of painting is attested by some well-authenticated accounts. We learn from Pliny that in his time some temple paintings still existed at Ardeæ which must have been older than the reputed foundation of Rome; and that there were also at Lanuvium two figures of Atalanta and Helena which the Emperor Caligula had tried to remove as much for their beauty as their antiquity.⁴ Candaules, King of Lydia, who

¹ Plin., "N.H.," xxxv., 43.² Ibid., 15.³ Ibid., 34.⁴ Ibid., 6.

was about contemporary with the date assigned to Romulus, paid with its weight in gold a picture by Bularchus of a battle of the Magnesians.¹ Cleanthes, and Aregon of Corinth seem to have been among the first to paint compositions with many figures; but their date is unknown. They adorned the temple of Alphæa, near Olympia, with pictures of the taking of Troy, the birth of Athena, and of Artemis borne on a Gryps.² Samos and Thasos appear to have had famous schools of painting. Mandrocles, a Samian, painted the Persian army passing the bridge over the Bosporos.³ Calliphon, also a Samian, painted the combat of Ajax and Hector with an Eris of dreadful aspect standing between them. Also in the temple of Artemis, at Ephesus, the fight at the Grecian ships.⁴ Such pictures must necessarily have contained a great many figures. Aristides, a later artist, painted for Mnason, tyrant of Elateia, a battle with 100 combatants. It may be doubted whether any modern picture, even Raphael's fresco of the battle of Maxentius, contains so many.

But the greatest artist of the Thasian school, and indeed one of the most eminent of all antiquity, was Polygnotus. His father and instructor, Aglaophon, was also a famous artist; from whom he learnt that simple mode of colouring which, down to the time of Quintilian,⁵ was preferred by some amateurs to all the gorgeousness of the greatest subsequent painters. He used, like Zeuxis and Timanthes afterwards, only four colours, and the chief beauty of his pieces lay in the drawing.⁶ Polygnotus flourished in the time of the Athenian Kimon, with whose sister, Elpinikë, he was in love. In the picture of the taking of Troy, which he

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxv., 34.

² Strabo, viii., 343.

³ Herod., iv., 88.

⁴ Pausan., v., 19, 1.

⁵ "Instit.," xii., 10, 3.

⁶ Cic., "Brut.," 18, 70; Plut., "Def. Or.," 47.

painted for the *Pækilè* at Athens, he gave Laodikè the features of Elpinikè. He painted in encaustic, and all his pictures were on a large scale. He gave his figures an ideal beauty, but accompanied with expression. He was the first to open their mouths and show the teeth, thus varying the ancient stiffness, and by other alterations obtained that pathos for which he was famous. He also departed from the rigidity of his predecessors by introducing greater variety of attitude, and was the first to paint women with transparent garments.¹ Painting, however, was still very far from technical perfection, especially in the article of perspective.

The above sketches of the progress of Grecian art may for the present suffice to show under what influences, moral, political, and religious, sculpture and painting were developed. It will be seen that sculpture, though originating in religion and always one of its handmaids, was yet not so restricted to it as to be unable, even in its earlier days, to apply itself to profane subjects; that it sought the beautiful and the majestic, rather than the terrible and revolting; whilst painting, but little subservient to religious purposes, delighted chiefly in depicting the great events of history. I will now turn to consider with like brevity the progress of the same arts in what is called the Italian Renaissance.

Italy at the revival of Art, like Greece at its birth, was divided into many little independent States, in which political passions, and perhaps also the arts of government, are carried to a higher pitch than in large ones. But though resembling in this respect, there was an essential difference in the way in which these States had originated. In Greece they were the

¹ Plut., "Cim.," 4; Plin., "N. H.," xxxv., 35; Lucian., "Imagg.," 7, &c.

offspring of a new civilization, in Italy of an ancient one that had been in great part destroyed; the shattered remnants of a mighty Empire, striving for a new and substantive existence. Hence their respective traditions could hardly be more dissimilar. The nature of those of Greece has been already indicated. Their history, in its proper sense, was unknown, and its place was supplied by mythical and semi-fabulous traditions, for the most part handed down and embellished by poets. They showed gods contending among themselves, or with monstrous and gigantic broods of earth, for supremacy. Demi-gods and heroes did superhuman deeds in curbing the devastating powers of nature, in chastising the insolence and tyranny of oppressors, in founding cities and preparing the way for civilization and order. The history of the Italian States, on the contrary, was but a too well-known matter of fact. The Italians felt that they were the descendants of a people-king, and that their little territories were but specks in that vast empire whose boundaries had once been commensurate with the known world. There was nothing to excite national pride, nothing to stir the imagination with glorious recollections. Whilst Greece had gathered fresh strength and glory from the overthrow of a barbarian invader, Italy had succumbed to the northern spoiler, and after the lapse of ages was only beginning to recover from a shock which had overthrown her civilization and her arts, had changed her manners and even her tongue. Many of her leading spirits were filled with the desire of restoring a semblance, at least, of her ancient glory by reuniting their country under that phantom of an Empire, restored by Charlemagne, which still subsisted in Germany. But another power had arisen whose rule was over the minds of men, and

used it as an engine to seize also the temporal power of the Cæsars. The Popes had joined the sword with the pastoral crook, which being both in one hand no longer respected each other. A monstrous alliance, destined to produce unnumbered ills, and instead of elevating, to disgrace and befoul the Church and her vocation :—

“Di oggimai che la Chiesa di Roma
Per confondere in se duo reggimenti
Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma.”¹

All Italy was split into partisans of Pope or Emperor, Guelfs or Ghibellines, watchwords which augmented and embittered the factions and jealousies with which her cities were filled through their own rivalries and ambition. Terrible is the picture which Dante draws of his country in the sixth canto of his “Purgatory” : “Enslaved Italy, abode of sorrow, tempest-tost and pilotless ship, no longer Queen of provinces, but a brothel! The bare name of a common country had moved the shades of Virgil and the Mantuan poet, Sordello, to a cordial greeting;² but now there is nothing but hatred and war even among those who dwell within the same walls. Look around thee, Wretch, from thy shores to thy very heart, where wilt thou find peace? In vain Justinian gave thee a bridle, for the saddle is empty: thy shame had been less without it. Oh sacerdotal tribe that should'st be devout if thou understood'st the word of God, let Cæsar bestride the saddle. See, when the hand is laid on the bridle how proud and restive the beast is, for want of the spur!” Then, after an angry apostrophe to the Emperor Albert, invoking a curse on him and his posterity for abandoning Italy, Dante invites him to cure her ills by

¹ Dante, “Purgatorio,” xvi., 127.

Sordello was a *Trovatore*; perhaps, also,

² He had just recorded their meeting. Podestà of Mantua.

visiting Rome, a lone widow calling on him day and night. "If thou hast no pity for us, blush at least for thy fame! The cities of Italy are filled with tyrants, every clown who can gather a party becomes a Marcellus." The poet then addresses his native city in a bitter and ironical apostrophe: "My Florence, content thee with this discourse, it touches thee not, thanks to thy wise and reasoning people! Many love justice at heart, and all have it on their lips; but her arrow is slow of flight, for much is the talk before fitting it to the bow. Many shirk the public burthens, but thy people waits not to be called, and cries, 'Behold my back.' Therefore be joyful, for thou hast cause; thou art rich, at peace, and full of understanding; just look, now, whether thy condition proves not my words. Athens and Sparta, who of old gave the law, who were so civilized, made but poor attempts at a well-ordered life in comparison with thee; whose ordinances are so subtle and so wise that what thou weavest in October lasts not till the middle of November! How often in thy remembrance hast thou changed thy laws, thy currency, thy office-bearers, and even thy constitution! If thy memory and thine eye-sight be good, thou wilt see thy likeness in a sick woman, who finds no repose on her bed, and strives to lighten her pain by constant change of posture."

Again, in the 15th Canto of the "Paradiso," Dante contrasts the state of Florence when bounded by the first circle of walls,¹ to that which it presented in his time. Then the women were chaste, unpainted, content with modest apparel; the birth of a daughter alarmed not the father with thoughts about her dowry.

¹ These ran near the *Badia*, from which the hours *terza* and *nona* were still sounded (*Ibid.*, v., 98). The house

of Dante may still be seen near the Abbey.

One took care of the cradle and soothed the infant with her songs; another, whilst she spun, talked with her family of the Trojans, of Fiesole and Rome. It would have been as great a marvel then to see a Cianghella, or a Lapo Salterello,¹ as it would be now to meet there a Cincinnatus or a Cornelia.

But in spite of Dante's irony, for which, however on the whole well founded, allowance must be made as the outpouring of a soul embittered by misfortune and exile, great progress had been made at Florence, which was on the eve of becoming the mother of Italian art and literature. The castles and towers of the feudal nobles, whose quarrels had filled the city with disturbance and alarm, had in great part been reduced and wholly or partially destroyed; their owners, thus compelled to become peaceable citizens, even enrolled themselves sometimes in the trade-guilds. Some remains may still be seen at Florence of their lofty and prison-like towers, whence they would issue forth with their followers to fill the streets with slaughter and blood. The establishment of the guilds, or *Arts*, which became an integral part of the constitution, shows what progress had been made not only in democracy, but also in wealth and commerce. Florence had so much increased in extent that in 1285 it was found necessary to build a third and more extensive circle of walls. Within, magnificent churches and other public buildings were rising. In 1294, the Commune employed Arnolfo di Cambio, or di Lapo, to make designs for the church of Sta. Reparata, which afterwards, under the name of Sta. Maria del Fiore, became the present cathedral. No expense was spared on the building: Arnolfo was authorized to make a handsomer and more magnificent temple than any to

¹ A woman and man of Dante's time, infamous for their pride and vice.

be found in Tuscany.¹ Dante took great interest in this building, the Campanile of which was designed by his friend Giotto, the artist. An inscribed stone still marks the spot where the poet is said to have sat and watched its progress. Other famous churches arose at the same epoch; as Orsanmichele, Santo Spirito, Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella, and others.

The movement, however, was not confined to Florence: it was general throughout Tuscany, and indeed the greater part of Italy, and had had in several cities an earlier beginning. The cathedral at Lucca, once the leading Tuscan city, had been founded in 1060; that of Pisa in 1063, though it was not consecrated till 1118. Some years later the Baptistery and Campanile, or Leaning Tower, were erected; but it was not till 1278 that the Campo Santo was begun. Thus the Pisans, who by their maritime commerce were in those days far superior to Florence in wealth and power, so that the Florentines were sometimes obliged to render them the homage and aid of humble and subservient allies, had taken precedence of them by more than a century in adorning their city with magnificent buildings and temples. The Duomo of Siena also arose somewhat earlier than that of Florence, and its artists have laid claim to priority in releasing Art in some degree from the shackles and conventionalism of the middle ages. But the glory of these towns was doomed to pale before the rising splendour of Florence, which eventually became politically the leading State in Tuscany, and also the true centre of Art. The very versatility with which Dante justly brands her, was the outcome of her stirring genius; which must also have been sharpened by the forensic disputes engendered by

¹ "Venustius et honorabilius templum aliquo alio quod sit in partibus Tusciæ"

Decree, ap. Reumont, "Tavole Cronologiche," anno 1299.

her constitution. The instructions about the cathedral before alluded to show that she had been piqued and excited by the example of neighbouring cities, and that she was determined to outstrip them in the splendour of her public buildings. And it was these which gave direct encouragement to Art, by requiring the aid of the painter to adorn their walls, and offering abundant space for his most ambitious efforts.

Thus Art began to flourish both at Athens and Florence when those cities had attained a considerable degree of wealth and civilization, when religion demanded her services, and when literature, her constant companion, was making rapid strides. The previous indigenous literature of Italy, if such it can be called, had consisted almost entirely of ecclesiastical or monkish legends, far inferior in beauty to those of pagan mythology, though excelling them in extravagance. But a better time was now approaching. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest philosopher as well as theologian of the middle ages, died in Dante's boyhood; Brunetto Latini, one of the most learned men of the time, was Dante's tutor. Historical literature was initiated by the contemporary chroniclers, Ricordano Malespini and Giovanni Villani. The "Cento Novelle" still hold a place among works of the imagination, and several no mean poets were Dante's contemporaries; as the Mantuan Sordello, already mentioned, Guittone d'Arezzo, Guido Cavalcanti, Dante's intimate friend, and several more Florentine writers. But it was the "Divina Commedia" that stamped the epoch, and became the great Italian epos as the "Iliad" was that of the Greeks. Between the two poems how wide the chasm! They resemble each other only in one particular, that both are for the most part carried on in action, and hence in great part the spell which they

cast upon the reader. Aristotle likened the "Iliad" to a drama, and Dante called his poem a "Commedia," as showing the great drama which contains all the rest—the whole fate of man and his final punishment in hell or beatitude in heaven. This last feature forbade its being called a tragedy, though so great a part of it is sad and terrible. How striking the contrast in the tone of the Greek and the Italian poem! In Homer there is nothing to appal the imagination; everything is cheerful as the light of day; even the slaughter of battle has scarce any repulsive imagery, and his heroes seem to die with that smile upon their lips already noted as characteristic of early Greek sculpture. The Italian poem, on the contrary, abounds with images of despair and terror. To cite instances would be to quote nearly all the "Inferno" and "Purgatorio." The cheerful pictures of the "Paradiso," on the other hand, have a mystical radiance which belongs not to earth.

The tone of Dantè's poem was partly influenced by his own character, but still more so by that of his age. He possessed all the learning of his time, theological as well as classical; hence his work shows a strange mixture of heathen mythology with Christianity. That he had a deep feeling of religion is evident from many passages. His Confession of Faith in the 24th Canto of the *Paradiso* shows his knowledge of the schoolmen and fathers. He is even thought to have worn at one period the Franciscan frock. His devotion appears in several passages. He paraphrases the Lord's Prayer and that of S. Bernard.¹ He sought not the Laureate bestowed on temporal poets in the Roman Capitol, but hoped to return to his native city and receive the poetic crown in the Baptistery where he

¹ "Purgat.," xi., *init.*; "Parad.," xxxiii., *init.*

became a Christian.¹ But his faith was unaccompanied with any narrow bigotry. He invoked Apollo and the Muses as well as the Virgin; he studied and admired the Old Testament equally with the New, and had among his friends the Roman Jew, Manoello.² Naturally austere, he looked with disgust on the Roman Court, though not yet so deeply stained with those scandalous crimes which disgraced it a century or two later. Its more conspicuous vices at that period were ambition and the lust of gain. The love of money had converted the Pope into a wolf; he and his Cardinals had forgotten Nazareth, and abandoned the study of the Gospel and the Fathers for the more profitable one of the Decretals.³ Nevertheless, in spite of all the faults which he saw and lamented, he wished still to retain the Pope as spiritual head of the Church.

A marking feature of the age, and one which had a great influence on Art, was the growth of monasticism. In the preceding century or two, religious asceticism had developed itself in the establishment of some of the severer monastic orders. The celibacy of the clergy, established by Pope Gregory VII., had rendered them a peculiar caste, a saintly soldiery released from all worldly duty, and designed only to serve the Church and promote her interests and power. The Franciscans had been founded by S. Francis of Assisi; the Dominicans, an order which became the handmaid of the Inquisition, by S. Domenico of Calahorra in Old Castile, "*Benigno a suoi, ed a' nemici crudo.*" S. Benedict and his followers had taken possession of Monte Cassino, the picturesque height which overhangs the road from Rome to Naples; S. Thomas Aquinas, the Seraphic Doctor, had written the works which became

¹ "Parad.," xxv. *in*it.

³ "Parad.," v., 77; "Epist. de Witte,"

² Burckhardt, "Cultur," i., 336.

p. 35.

the text books of the Church. Under the auspices of S. Francis, S. Clara had founded at Assisi one of the most ascetic of the female orders. Her dress was a hair tunic, her bed vine-cuttings or a sack of straw. Her tomb and her body, or rather the dress which covered it, may still be seen in the Church which bears her name at Assisi.¹

The New Testament, meant to be a Gospel of Love, is easily convertible into a Gospel of Fear. The doctrine of original and inherited sin presents a gloomy view of humanity from which paganism was free. Sorrow, the foundation of Christianity, is only an accessory in the mythology of the ancients. The promised method of redemption under the second Revelation was terrible indeed. The Almighty was to assume the human form, to be betrayed and deserted by his followers, to be mocked and put to an ignominious death by his enemies; his resurrection, typifying that of all mankind, only called them to the Last Judgment, to meet perhaps in the majority of cases the terrible punishment of everlasting fire; whilst Satan and his imps were ever prowling for their prey and endeavouring to bring about that horrible catastrophe. The Church had soon discovered an inexhaustible fund of gain in the fears of the superstitious. Hence the invention of Purgatory, and the power assumed by the Church of abridging its torments for a suitable fee. The public mind was saturated with terrible descriptions of hell and its eternal fires with which the pulpits resounded. So strongly were the Florentines imbued with these, that in 1304 the infernal regions were represented on the Arno. It has been sometimes thought that the scene was suggested by Dante's "Inferno," but that poem

¹ Dante, "Parad." iii., 97. When the writer saw her tomb in 1874, he was told by a Polish lady who was also visiting it, that she knew at Rome a

nun of the order who slept on the floor, and ate once a day bread moistened in warm water and salt. She expected to be canonized!

was not yet written. It was the pure outcome of the ideas which had got possession of the public mind. Dante himself was no doubt also imbued with them, and they became the source of his inspiration. They also took possession of Art, and long gave it its dominant tone. Already before the representation alluded to, Giovanni Pisano had sculptured scenes of hell on the façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto. From that date till Michelangelo's fresco of the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel, or for a period of more than two centuries, the genius of the Italian artists seems to have absolutely revelled in the terrible.

A modern writer has well remarked that suffering destroys all idea of grandeur; it begets resignation, but takes away majesty. Zeus never suffers. He is too great to feel pain and sorrow; the Greeks were chary of showing them even in human subjects. Under the Christian dispensation all suffer, apostles, martyrs, saints, even the divine founder of it himself.¹ These sufferings were the favourite subjects of the Italian painters, but were in a great measure forced upon them by the necessity of their position. The clergy, who rewarded their labours and offered space for them on the walls of their churches, took upon themselves the direction of the works to be executed. They chose the subjects, prescribed the manner of their execution, and left scarce anything but the technical part to the artist. In the second Nicene Council one of the speakers says: "The making of pictures is not to be left to the invention of painters, but to the legislation and tradition of the Catholic Church, with a fitting reverence for antiquity, according to S. Basil."²

¹ Houssaye, "Apelles," p. 48 *seq.*

² "Non est pictorum adinventio imaginum factura, sed Catholicæ Ecclesiæ

approbabilis legislatio et traditio, atque antiquitati congruens reverentia, secundum Divinum Basilium. . . . Igitur

In such fetters Art had but little power to develop itself, and it is not surprising to learn that in some remoter places the early ecclesiastical style lasted down to nearly the eighteenth century.¹ In like manner it has been seen that the hieratic style of Greek sculpture was preserved long after it was out of date. Sacerdotalism is everywhere the same, but fortunately its influence was less mischievous in the art of the Greeks. Their mythology readily admitted new fables; they had no intolerant dogmas, and martyrdoms were unknown. We meet, indeed, now and then, with such subjects as the flaying of Marsyas, or Niobë's children perishing by the darts of Apollo. But here vengeance is wreaked by the offended deity himself, not by man assuming his power, and often exercising it with circumstances of the most refined and barbarous cruelty. Pictures of S. Sebastian put to death with arrows, of the stoning of S. Stephen, of S. Catherine broken on the wheel, are almost innumerable. But these are mild in comparison with some that are absolutely revolting. Domenichino, with his fine genius for art, debased it by revelling in subjects of this sort, some of which it is difficult to imagine could have proceeded from the same hand which painted the Chase of Diana in the Borghese Palace or the lovely Sibyl in the same collection.² Göthe compares this style of art to the marriage of the children of God with the daughters of men. "We admire," he says, "the execution of Guido, but avert

eorum (patrum) est ingenium (ἐπινοία) et traditio (παράδοσις), non pictorum."—"Conciliorum collectio regia maxima," t. iv., col. 360, Paris, 1714.

¹ Lanzi, t. v., p. 18, who observes that the antiquity of such pictures is to be judged of by the adjuncts, not by the figures.

² His great picture of the Com-

munion of St. Jerome in the Vatican is an evident plagiarism from Agostino Caracci's of the same subject in the Bolognese Gallery. The saint is in the same attitude, with the lion at his feet and the turbaned figure behind him. But Domenichino has wonderfully improved upon the prototype in the grouping and the expression.

our eyes from his subjects—criminals, madmen, fools; so, to save himself, the artist introduces a naked youth, a pretty maiden, as spectators; treats his sacred heroes like lay figures, and covers them with well arranged drapery. Out of ten subjects hardly one that should have been painted, and in that one the artist was afraid to take the right point of view. He worked with the knife at his throat. Thus religion revived the arts, but superstition got the upper hand and destroyed them.”¹

There is a great deal of general truth in these remarks, but Göthe might have chosen a better subject for their illustration than Guido, who offends less in this way than most of his contemporaries. He painted, indeed, a good many S. Sebastians; but the mode of that saint's martyrdom has nothing disgusting, and presents an opportunity for delineating a fine figure. He generally avoided the terrible, and his second style at least is characterized rather by grace and beauty than by force and expression. At one time, indeed, he seems to have emulated Caravaggio, both in the choice of subjects and in the manner of their execution. An example may be seen in his Crucifixion of S. Peter in the Vatican, which resembles in its strong *chiar-oscuro* Caravaggio's Entombment in the same gallery. But he soon abandoned this style for one more congenial to his nature. Even in such a subject as the Slaughter of the Innocents, in the Bologna Gallery, he has, as Burckhardt well remarks, contrived to avoid the repulsive, and to make the scene pathetic rather than horrible. In this respect he may be favourably contrasted with Domenichino in the two rival pictures of the Martyrdom of S. Andrew in the chapel near S. Gregorio at Rome. Domenichino

¹ “Der Glaube hat die Künste wieder hervorgehoben, der Aberglaube hingegen ist Herr über sie geworden, und

hat sie abermal zu Grunde gerichtet.”
“Ital. Reise,” Brief v. Bologna, Oct. 19th, 1786.

shows us the saint stretched on a table, scourged, tortured, mocked; whilst Guido represents him only on the road to execution, and the cross is seen on a distant hill. Domenichino's love of the terrible is also shown in the contrast between his picture of the death of Peter Martyr in the Bologna Gallery, and that of Titian on the same subject formerly in the church of S. Giovanni e Paolo, at Venice.¹ In Titian's picture the murder was kept more in the background, and the expression, both of the murderer and his victim, was not so horrible. Domenichino's flying monk was evidently suggested by Titian's; he is in the same attitude, with the cloak fluttering above his shoulders, but the act of flight is not rendered with the same reality and force. In Titian's picture he seemed to be starting from the canvas.

If the more gloomy pictures of the Renaissance disgust by their horror, the cheerful ones too often displease by their absurdity. Monks were the chief patrons of art, and indeed several of them were themselves eminent painters. Hence monkish legends became favourite subjects for the pencil; whilst the apocryphal Scriptures then current, from the wonders they contained, often had the preference over the orthodox books. Thus the artist filled his pieces with subjects revolting to common sense and contrary to every day experience. Monastic traditions, apart from these absurdities, were but ill fitted for pictorial art, and very far inferior to the legends of ancient mythology. Hume observes: "The place of Hercules, Theseus, Hector, Romulus, is now supplied by Dominic, Francis, Anthony, and Benedict. Instead of the destruction of monsters, the subduing of tyrants, the defence of our native country,

¹ The writer had the good fortune to see it a few years before it was burnt in 1867. It was one of those pictures

which once seen can never be forgotten. It is now replaced by a bad copy.

whippings and fastings, cowardice and humility, abject submission, and slavish obedience are become the means of obtaining celestial honour among mankind.”¹ Pictures from such subjects are ill fitted to stimulate the genius of the artist or elevate the mind of the spectator. It must be observed, however, that under this monkish humility lurked an immeasurable ambition; under pretence of renouncing the world, it was sought to obtain dominion over its chiefs and governors. In this lay the ambition and the pride of monachism, which displayed itself in pictures of such triumphs; as in those of Spinello in S. Miniato at Florence, of S. Benedict reducing the Emperor to obedience.

Another triumph and glory of the Church and its militant orders was the power of working miracles. On this in great part rested the authority of the saintly founders of these orders. But the pictorial representation of them necessarily involved the grossest absurdities. We acquiesce in the sight of angels flying in the air, because we conceive of them as a sort of ethereal beings performing the office of messengers, as Hermes did of old. But when we see, as we so often do in the works of Giotto and the earlier Italian painters, S. Francis or S. Anthony cleaving the air without wings, we are sensible only of the incredible and absurd. Yet such monstrosities were continued for some centuries. When Tintoretto, in a picture in the Venetian Academy, often deemed his masterpiece, and no doubt in many respects a fine composition, shows us S. Mark, a heavy, unwinged figure, having moreover a large volume, apparently his Gospel, in his hand, descending head-foremost from the skies, and bursting through the vine-clad trellis, we are seized with the apprehension that he must inevitably be dashed to pieces. The foreshortenings, no

¹ “Natural History of Religion,” sect. 10.

doubt, are wonderful, and to show his skill in them seems to have been Tintoretto's chief concern. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that, in spite of their absurdities, some of these legends contain considerable pathos, and occasionally no mean vein of poetry; one relating to the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt describes them as entering a forest, when all the trees, with the exception of the aspen, bowed down in reverence to the infant God. On this account He pronounced a curse upon it, whereat the aspen began to tremble, and has never ceased doing so down to the present day.¹ A fable which might be paralleled with some of the stories in Ovid's "Metamorphoses!"

During the establishment of Christianity as a national religion it was often found necessary to make some compromise with paganism. It is impossible by a mere *fiat* to eradicate among the uneducated and greater portion of mankind the love of religious usages inherited from their forefathers. Hence many still existing rites of the Catholic Church have a pagan origin; as the eastern position of the altar, candles, holy water, &c. To attract the wavering and undecided, a visible representation of deity was an urgent want; and pictures, which were not literally forbidden in Scripture, seemed to offer a valuable counter-attraction to the statues of the heathen temples.

Although essentially spiritual and not anthropomorphic, like the religion of Greece, Christianity easily lent itself to the representation of deity in human form. The Almighty Himself is described in the Old Testament as having the members of a man; He descended upon earth and conversed with our first parents in the human shape. Christ, His Son, assumed for many years the substance, and not the mere semblance, of a man,

¹ Mrs. Jameson, "Legends of the Madonna," p. 234.

whilst His reputed parents and relatives were altogether human. Hence it seemed possible to present paintings of deity as substitutes for the sculptured Zeus, Apollo, or Hermes of paganism. Scripture, as Dante remarks, in consideration that nothing can enter the human intellect that was not previously in the senses, assigned feet and hands to God, but with an allegorical and recondite meaning, and so Holy Church shows us Gabriel and Michael and the other angel who restored the sight of Tobias (Raphael) in human form:

“Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno,
 Perocchè solo da sensato apprende
 Ciò che fa poscia d'intelletto degno.
 Per questo la Scrittura condescende
 A vostra facultate, e piedi e mano
 Attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende.
 E santa Chiesa con aspetto umano
 Gabrielle e Michel vi rappresenta,
 E l'altro che Tobia rifece sano.”

“Parad.,” iv., 40 *seq.*

But the idea of the Christian deity is of a nature so much more elevated and sublime than that of the pagan gods, some of whom had been originally mortal, that all representations of Jehovah or the Saviour, considered merely as works of art, are very far from affording the satisfaction which may be derived from the less transcendent ones of the deities of paganism. Where is there a representation of Jehovah that can be compared with the Otricoli Zeus?

The second Revelation in a great measure superseded the first, and the worship of Jehovah, compared with that of His Son, had but a small place in the devotions of the Church. In visible shape, Christ was made the first object of adoration; and He appears to have been represented as early as the third century with the traits of Jupiter or Apollo,¹ and even under the more

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, “Hist. of Painting” (Jordan’s Transl., B. i., S. 2 *seq.*).

earthly symbol of Orpheus taming the beasts with his lyre. Such representations were not merely compromises with paganism; they also resulted from the education of the artists who painted them. Many ancient paintings still existed, and formed their models. Hence the dresses of the persons represented resembled those of the heathen mythology; scriptural figures were accompanied with pagan symbols, and Cupids fluttered in the vine-garlands which surrounded the Redeemer.

For some subsequent centuries the Saviour was shown under the allegorical, but more appropriate, form of the Good Shepherd; till, about the eighth century, the terrible image of His death and sufferings became predominant. It was partly, perhaps, the wish of the Church to inspire terror, that gave birth to ideas more melancholy and severe; partly also, it may be, from the admixture of the Italians with northern blood. The semi-barbarians of the North associated the terrible with their ideas of religion. Even at the present day, the observant traveller, who passes from the northern and German Tyrol to the southern and Italian, will be struck by the different character which the same religion respectively assumes. In the former, the object of adoration offered to the wayfarer is usually a Crucifix; whilst the Italian population prefers the more attractive image of the Madonna and Child.

The earlier pictures of the Saviour were calculated to inspire terror. He was often represented of colossal size, and with a fixed stare which seemed to penetrate into the soul of the beholder. The Crucifix, which was sometimes in painting, sometimes in sculpture, was an object that awakened feelings of a more mixed nature. It called to mind the hereditary sinfulness of man and the bounty of the divine Being who had expiated it by a painful and ignominious death; hence in the devout be-

liever contrition was mingled with feelings of love and pity for the Redeemer, and all united, tended to foster devotion and piety. It is in this view that the Crucifix may be justified for minds that need the excitement of a sensible image. But what an object for Art! And it is only in that view that it is to be here regarded. A God in the shape of a man, an immortal put to death in the cruel and ignominious manner appointed for the vilest malefactors! A Greek would have averted his eyes from it with a shudder.

The Crucifix alone, however, though great skill has been expended on it both by painters and sculptors, is not so much to be regarded as a work of art as a piece of church furniture, an emblem to awaken and fix the devotion of the pious. But in process of time other figures were added, and it was thus developed into a picture which represented the actual scene of the Crucifixion, or some of its attendant circumstances, as the descent from the cross, the interment, &c. Some of these pictures are miracles of art, so far as its technicalities are concerned; but it is, I think, to be regretted that so many great artists have wasted their powers on so ungrateful a theme. They had, however, their justification in the original destination of such pictures for churches and convents, where they might serve to adorn and to augment the sanctity of the place, and to foster the devotion of worshippers; but when removed into galleries, and thus separated from the *religio loci*, as so many of them now are, they come to be regarded in the light of works of profane art, and the faults and improprieties both of subject and execution become more apparent. The expression of these views may appear presumptuous, since many eminent critics have bestowed the warmest approbation on such pictures. But on examination it will be found, I think, that their praise is

mostly confined to technical merits. Thus Vasari, in his account of Daniele di Volterra's Descent from the Cross, in the church of Sta. Trinità de' Monti at Rome, speaks only of the richness of the composition, the skill of the foreshortenings, and the good drawing of the nude.¹ In like manner Reynolds, in his criticisms of Rubens' Descent from the Cross at Antwerp, of his Crucifixion in the Church of the Recollets in the same town, and of Vandyck's Crucifixion at Mechlin, confines himself almost entirely to the technical parts.² He calls, indeed, the Christ in Rubens' picture one of the finest figures ever invented; yet his praise is limited to the technical parts—the difficulty of the attitude, and the unsurpassable representation of the heaviness of death. But it is especially the colouring that excites his admiration, of which he was himself so great a master and so good a judge. We imagine what delight he felt at seeing difficulties overcome which he must sometimes have felt to be formidable, if not unsurmountable, as, for instance, that of representing white linen in juxtaposition with flesh. But such technicalities will hardly much attract the attention of the lay spectator, who in most cases, indeed, is unable to appreciate them, and only desires to be stirred or gratified by the story represented. And all such pictures have a fatal fault in the selection of the moment. The catastrophe is complete, and nothing is left to the imagination—no room for hope or fear. Again, by the introduction of the Virgin Mother and friends, the picture loses its divine nature, and becomes a family scene, with lamentation and woe, with weeping and fainting women. Thus it falls at once to the level of human life. Christ is no longer the hero of the piece; He is nothing but a corpse, and the spectator's attention is attracted in preference to the by-

¹ "Vite de' Pittori," t. iv., p. 576.

² "Journey," p. 223, &c.

standers, and even to the men employed in the work of the crucifixion. Hence these figures, and especially the Virgin Mother and her female companions, form the chief interest of the piece, and are often represented with wonderful pathos. They form the chief attraction of Daniele da Volterra's Descent just mentioned, where the swooning Virgin is a miracle of art. Yet Vasari does not mention her.

Some of the events in the history of the Saviour connected with the sufferings which preceded His death are less liable to the objections stated above. But even these, apart from any religious view of them, and the emotions which they may raise in the devout, and regarded only as subjects of art, are hardly eligible ones. Reynolds, in a passage before quoted, observes, that in pictures where the Saviour is introduced, He is generally inferior to the other persons, since a perfect character makes but an insipid figure. And he goes on to say that Rubens succeeds only with a dead Christ; that in his live ones, child or man, there is no divinity. To the like effect, Winckelmann¹ observes that, according to the prediction in the Psalms, Christ should be represented as the comeliest among the sons of men; but the greater part of his representations, without excepting those of Michelangelo, seem to be taken from works of the decadence; and that nothing can be more vile and vulgar than some of the heads of Jesus. He excepts Raphael in a small design for the Entombment in the Farnese collection, which shows all the beauty of a beardless hero, in which he was followed by Annibal Caracci in three pictures of the same subject—one in the same collection, one in S. Francesco a Ripa in Rome, and another in the chapel of the Pamfili Palace.

¹ Lib. v., c. 1. Fea justly remarks on this passage that some of Guido's heads should be considered.

Also Leonardo's Christ in the Last Supper, which has the most sublime manly beauty.

Perhaps it must be allowed that no great artist has altogether succeeded in conveying a perfect idea of divinity, and least of all where Christ is represented suffering; for an object that excites our pity and compassion can hardly convey at the same time a sense of its divinity. The feelings are incompatible, and cannot be shown together. Perhaps the finest things in this way, in point of expression, are Sodoma's fresco, at Siena, of Christ bound to the column; Guido Reni's chalk-drawing, at Bologna, of the Ecce Homo; and Vandyck's, in the Uffizi at Florence, of Christ Mocked. But the sentiment they awaken is compassion, not religious awe. Raphael, whose taste more nearly approached the standard of classical antiquity than that of any other Italian painter, avoided such subjects. Among his numerous works, only two or three can be mentioned that turn on Christ's sufferings and death. He painted only one Crucifixion, and that in his earlier days. The Entombment, in the Borghese Palace at Rome, is also an early work, and, though already showing some of his peculiar excellences, hardly to be reckoned among his best. There is something of stiffness and affectation in the posture and expression of the bearer who fills the middle of the piece. The picture of Christ bearing His Cross, called the Spasimo di Cecilia, now at Madrid, I have not seen; but, from the descriptions and engravings of it, it would appear to be a masterpiece of pathos, especially in the attitude and expression of the Virgin. But it contained not the completion of the sacrifice; the cross was seen in the distance, and it, therefore, contained nothing repulsive.

The religious art of the Renaissance found a much

more pleasing subject in the Madonna. But it was long before the Virgin attained to those divine honours which ultimately threw the adoration of her Son into the shade. In some of the earlier representations, she is shown, not as a divine being to be worshipped, but herself in the humble attitude of prayer. She is so represented in an ancient bas-relief, now in the church of S. Maria in Porto, at Ravenna. She does not appear to have been painted till about the fourth century. Her figure is rarely seen in the Roman catacombs, except in conjunction with the Magi. In one of the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (Ann. 432-440), the Bambino occupies a high throne while adored by the Magi, and the Virgin sits on one side.¹ It seems to have been in the fifth century that the Church allowed her divinity, and that she became an object of worship. One of the earliest representations of her in this character is a mosaic altar-piece in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace at Ravenna, which was built about the middle of the sixth century. She is there represented of colossal size, and with the customary blue mantle.² As the representations of her Son became more terrible, she began in a measure to supersede, or at all events to counterbalance them, by delineations of her in the amiable light of a tender mother nursing her infant. But, from the necessity of the case, it was not till Art had arrived at a great degree of perfection that she came to be represented with much female loveliness. There are two Madonnas by Cimabue at Florence—one in S. Maria Novella, the other in the Academy—which cannot be said to show much beauty, or any very great advance on the Byzantine masters. From awe of ecclesiastical traditions, he may possibly have feared to add feminine charms to the mother of the Saviour; to depart from the adust complexion which

¹ Harford, "Michelangelo," i., 295.

² Crowe and C. (Jordan, B. i., S. 27).

usage had sanctioned, and was thought to be conformable to Holy Writ.¹ Nor, indeed, can much more be said for Giotto's Madonna in Sta. Maria Novella, which was hailed with such extravagant acclamation. The first picture of the Madonna with any pretensions to female beauty is one in the ancient Palazzo del Popolo at Perugia, by an unknown artist, but certainly painted before Giotto's time. It is called the *Maestà* (or *Vergine*) delle Volte, from its being painted under the vaultings of the building.² It may, perhaps, have been the source whence Pietro Perugino, and after him his pupil, Raphael, derived those traits of beauty and grace which characterize their Madonnas. Another beautiful early Madonna was that by Taddeo Gaddi, a pupil of Giotto's, in a chapel of the Pisan Campo Santo.

But, after all, representations of the unaccompanied Virgin are little more than idols. They may serve to fix the wandering thoughts of the worshipper, but they tell no story, and can hardly fill the imagination with an awe purely divine. An exception may be made for Raphael's Madonna di San Sisto, one of the divinest works ever portrayed by human pencil, and, perhaps, for one or two more. For grace and beauty, the types of no other artist can be compared with those of Raphael; yet many even of his have in them something fleshly, as the Madonna della Seggiola in the Pitti Palace, which savours of the Fornarina; or, on the other hand, when heavenly purity is sought to be combined with earthly beauty, the result too often borders on insipidity. Such a type, too, admits of but little variety, and hence the sameness prevailing in many of Raphael's Madonnas. As a French writer observes,³ they are to be distin-

¹ "Nigra sum, sed formosa." See Rosini, "*Storia della Pittura Italiana*," t. i., p. 134.

² *Ibid.*, p. 148, where is an engraving of it.

³ Houssaye, "*Apelles*."

guished only by their adjuncts, as the *Madonna del Cardellino*, *del Pesce*, &c. Yet no artist has succeeded in such figures like Raphael. Those of Andrea del Sarto, and even of Titian, are commonplace, if not absolutely vulgar ; and the same may be said of most of those of the Spanish school. Michelangelo's *Madonna*, in the Tribune of the Uffizi, is majestic and statuesque rather than beautiful.

As the crucifix was expanded into a picture of the Crucifixion, so also, in process of time, the Virgin was represented accompanied by other figures ; as saints, whose faces were often portraits of the munificent donors who had presented the picture, or by archangels, apostles, prophets, and fathers, mingled together in admirable confusion. Of such pictures, Mrs. Jameson has made an ingenious defence in her excellent work, "*Sacred and Legendary Art.*" She divides the religious pictures of the Roman Catholic Church into two classes—the devotional and the historical. The first are such as present objects of veneration, either singly or in groups, but not engaged in any action ; the historical are either scriptural or legendary, the latter consisting principally of miracles and martyrdoms. Pictures of the Virgin and Child, such as those before alluded to, come naturally under the first class here defined. And, indeed, I am not sure that there are any others which can be strictly brought within it. Where Christ is represented with other figures, the subject is always historical ; at least I cannot call to mind any composition where He is enthroned, or posing, as an object of adoration for the figures that stand by. The contrary is the case with the *Madonna*, who, where she is not a mere solitary idol, or represented with her family in domestic life, is most frequently surrounded by worshipping angels and saints. And it is to such pictures that Mrs. Jameson's

remarks most forcibly apply. Against the charge of anachronism often brought against them, she makes an eloquent and successful defence. "The personages here brought together in their sacred character, belong," she observes, "no more to our earth, but to heaven and eternity; for them there is no longer time nor place; they are here assembled together in the perpetual 'communion of saints'—immortal contemporaries in that kingdom where the Angel of the Apocalypse proclaimed that 'there should be time no longer.'"¹

Let us take as an example of this kind of picture one by Perugino in the Academy at Florence (No. 55). At the top is God the Father,² lifting His right hand in exhortation, and having His left on what is apparently the sacred volume. In the middle of the picture is the Virgin, encompassed in a *mandorla*, or full-length glory, and surrounded by angels and cherubim. In the foreground, larger and more conspicuous than the rest of the figures, are Cardinal S. Bernard degli Uberti, S. Giovanni Gualberto, S. Benedict, and the Archangel Michael. It is reckoned among Perugino's finest works; the figures are noble, and the colouring still brilliant. But which is here the real object of adoration? And how are the figures on earth employed? The two middle saints are, indeed, contemplating the heavenly glories above; but the Cardinal and the Archangel seem to be wholly unconscious of what is going on, and to have nothing to do but to pose in somewhat lackadaisical attitudes. In fact, though Perugino painted so many religious pictures, he threw but little life into them, perhaps from the circumstance of his devotion not being very warm. According to Vasari, he did not believe in the immortality of the soul: money was his god, and

¹ Vol. i., page 14.

² According to the Catalogue, but the semblance is more that of Christ.

the chief object of his art.¹ There is another picture by the same artist in the Bologna Academy, which, though inferior, very much resembles this, in which two of the male saints are replaced by female ones.

Raphael himself, in his earlier days, sometimes made pictures like Perugino's, as in the Madonna del Baldichino in the Pitti Palace, where the enthroned Virgin is surrounded by S. Peter, S. Bernard, S. James, and S. Augustine. In this piece, for which Raphael only made the sketch, he is said to have emulated the style of Fra Bartolommeo. There is, indeed, in the Uffizi a grand and somewhat analogous design by that artist in *chiaroscuro*, intended for a picture which he did not live to finish. The Virgin, with the *Bambino* on her lap, and the little Baptist at her side, sits in the middle, surrounded by saints. Standing at her back, S. Anna, with upturned eyes and expanded hands, invokes the heavenly hierarchy. The grouping is admirable, the heads very fine, especially that of S. Anna. The Virgin in Titian's Assumption, in the gallery at Venice, so much resembles this figure that it might almost be thought a plagiarism. It may, perhaps, have been among the things which, Vasari tells us, Titian saw and admired at Florence. Lanzi justly calls this piece a lesson in Art. I shall only mention further, Raphael's Madonna di Foligno, or del Donatore, in the Vatican gallery. It is, perhaps, the best among pictures of this kind, for the Madonna di San Sisto hardly comes under this category. It seems to represent a vision. The Virgin, with the infant Christ in her arms, is seated on clouds, surrounded with a circular glory lined with cherubim. The character is very different from the San Sisto. Instead of the ineffably divine and intellectual expression both of Virgin and Child in that picture,

¹ "Vita di Perugino," Opere, t. ii., p. 528.

both these figures, though of great beauty, have a more cheerful look, and come nearer to every-day life than any, perhaps, that Raphael ever painted. The Infant is playing with His mother's robe, and seems to look down with pleasure on the beautiful little angel who stands, holding a tablet, in the middle of the picture. He may bear comparison with the angels in the San Sisto. In the foreground, on the right, is the *Donatore*—Count Conti, one of the Pope's chamberlains—on his knees, in an attitude of prayer. It is said to be a portrait, and has all the appearance of one. The bony head and strongly-marked features have a rather weak expression. Behind him, S. Jerome, a noble figure, identified by the legendary lion at his back, seems to be presenting him to the Virgin. On the left side, S. Francis, with a look of ecstasy, kneels in adoration; behind him the Baptist, whose sheepskin dress and dishevelled hair denote a life in the wilderness, stands erect, with his left hand on his staff, and as one domesticated with the Holy Family, with his right pointing out to the spectator the adorable vision in the heavens. The Baptist's head is very fine; and, perhaps, on the whole, these figures are the best in any picture of the sort. They are not mere lay figures; there is an action going on in the presentation of the donor; whilst, on the other hand, the vision thus invoked excites the piety of S. Francis, and explains the attitude of the Baptist. What adds to the charm of the piece is the beautiful landscape, with the distant city enveloped in a rainbow—a symbol of escape from tempest which formed the motive of the votive offering.

Besides the lack of interest in the greater part of such pictures from the want of action, there is another drawback from the difficulty of understanding them. They

were painted for particular persons and places; and this takes them at once out of the category of cosmopolitan Art. They had no doubt a local meaning, and were well understood in the churches and convents for which they were designed; but a great part of them have now migrated into public or private galleries, where they are perfect riddles to the uninitiated. And this not only from ignorance of the occasion of them, but also of the legendary figures introduced. This last objection, indeed, applies not only to donative pictures, but also to others which Mrs. Jameson ranks under the head of non-historical and devotional, such as the Coronation of the Virgin, the Adoration of the Lamb, &c. To know the subjects of these, and consequently to have a proper relish for them, one should be well acquainted with the ecclesiastical and monkish legends. But how many, even among well-educated Roman Catholics, possess such knowledge, except, perhaps, a few of the more popular legends of patron or national saints? It would demand a lengthened study. The fruits of Mrs. Jameson's researches during many years are several large volumes, most useful to those who would know the meaning of particular pictures. How many are there who can afford the time, or would take the trouble, to acquire such knowledge? which, after all, though sometimes highly poetical, in general verges on superstition and absurdity. For my own part, I feel grateful for Mrs. Jameson's researches, and the pleasant manner in which they are conveyed; for, though taking great interest in Art, I should never have had the courage to make them for myself.

Mrs. Jameson rightly excludes pictures of the class mentioned from the strictly historical kind. But when she says of those she ranks under the head of devotional,

that "they place before us no action or event, real or supposed—they are neither portrait nor history,"¹ such a description belongs only to the tamest sort of donative pictures; for even in these there may be action, as I have shown in describing the Madonna di Foligno. And in such pictures as the Coronation of the Virgin and the Last Judgment, which she rightly places under the devotional head, there is both event and action; not, however, of the historical kind, but wholly imaginative. They are pictures of poetical action, just as much as are Polygnotus' picture of the infernal regions, or Domenichino's of the Chace of Diana. I will mention in connection with this subject two pictures of the Coronation, one by Fra Filippo Lippi, the other by Raphael. The comparison may serve to show the difference between mere talent and genius.

Lippo Lippi's picture is in the Florentine Academy (No. 41). It is in good preservation, painted in lucid tints, and abounding with fine heads, but of the realistic and old Florentine type; among them his own portrait, and under it the somewhat vain label, "*Is perfecit opus.*" The scene appears to be in a church. In the middle of the picture, at the top, a figure habited like a priest is placing a crown on the head of the kneeling Madonna. Of the numerous congregation present, the greater part of which is composed of women, scarcely one is attending to what is going on. They are mostly looking out of the picture, and at the spectator; some even turn their backs on the scene.

This composition may be characterized as heaven brought down to earth; that of Raphael in the Vatican gallery as earth raised up to heaven. It is, however, in Raphael's earlier style; and Vasari speaks of it as so closely resembling that of his master, Perugino, as to

¹ Vol. i., p. 11.

be easily mistaken for one of his pictures. It may be doubted whether Pietro was capable of such a design. Yet, with all its beauty, it can hardly be ranked among Raphael's masterpieces. The outline only appears to have been his, which, however, is the most essential part. According to Passavant, it was finished by Penni and Giulio Romano, whilst others say that Pinturicchio had a hand in the drawing.¹ In the foreground is the Virgin's tomb, from which she has ascended into heaven. Its purity and freedom from corruption are shown by the flowers that spring up in it, among which the lily is conspicuous. It is surrounded by the twelve Apostles, whose gaze for the most part is fixed on heaven, where, surrounded by angels and cherubim, Christ is seen placing the crown of immortality on the head of His mother. The four Evangelists are distinguished by holding a book. The youthful figure with flowing hair, on the extreme left, is S. John; further on, S. Peter is seen with the key. From the solemn sedateness, not to say severity, of all the figures, they would seem to be assisting at the funeral of the Virgin rather than the joyful event of her coronation. This objection applies more forcibly to the heavenly than to the earthly group. The countenance of Christ, and that of the Virgin herself, is sad; the very angels who surround them, dancing, and playing on musical instruments, have a melancholy expression, ill-befitting the occupation in which they are engaged. How far Raphael's original design may have been altered by those who carried it out it is impossible to say; but with the exception of this fault, for such I cannot help thinking it, the subject could hardly be conceived in a more poetical manner.

I shall not here say more of pictures of this kind, as

¹ See Rosini, "*Storia della Pittura*," Vasari does not mention it. See his iv., 33. That author wrongly says that "*Vite*" ("*Opere*," iii., 137, Flor., 1822).

there will be occasion to consider representations of the Last Judgment further on. Such pictures, as representing a future event, cannot, of course, be historical; but, as will be seen, they may give room for the display of the most lively action. Both the Old and the New Testament afford admirable scenes for the painter, and some of the finest pictures in the world are taken from them. But some of the artists of the Renaissance, and especially the earlier ones, preferred to take their subjects from the monkish legends, a circumstance that may be accounted for from the predominance of monachism already alluded to. That such subjects, when not too extravagant or repulsive, and when treated by the hand of genius, may form admirable pictures, I am far from denying. One of them, indeed, is a masterpiece of Raphael's—his fresco in the Vatican of the expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple by the Archangel Michael. But this piece contains nothing revolting to good sense, nothing that the imagination may not readily acquiesce in. That Antiochus IV. employed Heliodorus to rob the temple of Jerusalem may probably be a fact; that he should have been repulsed by the Archangel Michael may be likened to the divine machinery often employed by the epic poets of antiquity, and has nothing that offends the imagination.¹ Figures like the mounted archangel and the two accompanying avenging angels, neither winged nor using their feet, but with gliding motion like that ascribed to the heathen deities,² have never, perhaps, been equalled even by Raphael himself. What spirit in that horse, what majesty in the rider! It is to be lamented that Raphael found himself bound by the nature of his service to turn it into an allegorical picture in honour of Pope

¹ The story is told in the "Speculum Salvationis," and in Maccabees ii. 3.

Dante alludes to it in the "Purgatorio," xx. 113. ² *Vera incessu patuit Dea,*

Julius II., and typical of the expulsion of the French from the States of the Church. At the extremity of that magnificent architectural vista is seen the Jewish temple with the candelabra, and the chief priest Onias at his devotions before the altar; whilst on the left of the piece, the Pope, on throne of purple and gold, is being borne into the church, the foremost bearer being Raphael's friend, the engraver Marcantonio Raimondi. The inconsistency is sometimes explained by the scene being a vision of the Pope, but this hardly agrees with the consternation shown by the bystanders, mostly women, at the apparition. But in point even of technical excellence, drawing, grouping, and foreshortening, this must rank among the first of Raphael's works.

Besides the, in general, objectionable nature of the subjects offered to the earlier Italian painters, they laboured under two other disadvantages—the influence of the Byzantine school, and the ecclesiastical love for splendid colours and gilding. If the worshipper could not be attracted by beauty, he could at least be dazzled by splendour and awed by magnificence. As it was at Byzantium that Christianity first obtained the sanction of the State, so also it there assumed its first orthodox form, its established ritual, and the emblems and decorations that were considered appropriate to it. In that capital Art appears to have experienced a severer fall than even in Italy, where traces of the ancient and better style were still preserved in the Middle Ages. In the fifth century the church of S. Paolo at Rome was decorated with portraits of Popes. In the church of S. Urbano were painted Scripture histories, and others of titular saints, as S. Cecilia, which have nothing Greek in the faces or drapery, and are inscribed with the name of an Italian artist and the date of 1011.¹ There are also

¹ Lanzi, t. i., p. 2.

traces of a better style even among the Greeks. A Greek picture of the funeral of S. Ephraim, of the eleventh century, has many figures very fairly done.¹ The Greek artists especially excelled in illuminations. The colouring of their pictures was equal to oil; no modern painting can rival the brilliancy of one in the Museo Mediceo.² The Byzantines appear to have preserved some of the technical methods of the ancient fresco painters, whence they passed on to Cimabue, Giotto, and the early Italian school.³ But the pictures designed for the decoration of churches were of a semi-barbarous type. It was Byzantine artists, or Italians under their direction, that were employed to decorate the rising churches and cathedrals of Italy. Giunta of Pisa, who is by some accounted the first Italian painter, was instructed by Greeks.⁴ Guido da Siena, who according to some began to paint in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, improved a little on the Byzantine style; but the date of 1221 on a picture of the Madonna at Assisi is disputed.⁵ His half-length colossal Madonna with the Infant Christ on her arm, in the Siena gallery, a good deal resembling the celebrated Madonna of Cimabue, is thought to have been painted in 1260. There is in the same gallery a large anonymous picture (No. 8), dated 1215, representing the Redeemer in a *mandorla* with an open book on His knees, and on each side an angel with spread wings. He is giving the blessing in the Latin fashion, from which it may, perhaps, be inferred that the painter was an Italian.⁶ But it

¹ Plate in Agincourt.

² Lanzi, *ibid.*, p. 32.

³ Donner, "Die antiken Wandmale-reien in technischer Beziehung," S. cxviii.

⁴ "Juncta Pisanus ruditer a Græcis instructus primus ex Italis artem apprehendit circa ann. sal. 1210." P. Angeli, quoted in Pietro della Valle's Preface

to the Siennese edition of Vasari, p. xli. Specimens of Giunta's paintings at Assisi are given by Agincourt, Pl. cii. Italian imitations of the Greeks, Pl. civ. *sqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. cvii.; Burekhardt, "Cicerone," p. 742.

⁶ "Lettere Sanesi," t. i., p. 247; t. ii.,

can hardly be doubted that the chief impulse of ecclesiastical art in Italy was derived from Byzantium. The first requirement was an altar-piece. In the earlier ages this was a merely mechanical work, in which the painter's share was less highly valued than that of the carver and gilder; and it was he, not the artist, who often put his name to the work. This view of the matter continued to prevail throughout the greater part of the thirteenth century.¹ Under the altar-piece was the *altarino* (little altar), called also *ancona*,² made of wood elaborately carved to imitate the façade of a temple or palace in the Gothic style. They had tabernacles, small pyramids, niches with statuettes, sculptured friezes and pediments. Being made to fold in two or three compartments, they were also called diptychs and triptychs. A step (*grado* or *gradino*) was often added, on the divisions of which Scripture subjects, or legends from the Bollandists, might be painted. These were often taken from the miniature paintings which adorned the illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages; a source, indeed, from which were supplied many of the largest frescoes of later times.

The Byzantine pictures were generally painted upon gold grounds; gilding was profusely employed in the dresses of the persons represented; their heads, and sometimes their whole figures, were surrounded with golden glories. The former, called from its oval shape the *vesica*, or bladder, was borrowed from representations of pagan gods, and may sometimes be seen on ancient bas-reliefs. The elongated glory, from its oval form,

p. 270. In this gallery is a picture of the Spozalizio, by Bartolo di Maestro Fredi (1353—1410), in which a young man in red tights is breaking a wand on his leg, just as in Raphael's picture in the Brera.

¹ Lanzi, *ib.*, p. 32.

² “Un quasi altarino di legno contro pitture,” *idem*, t. iv., p. 72.

had the name of *mandorla*, or almond. As the heathen gods had their emblems, so also they were bestowed upon Apostles and Saints; the eagle of Zeus was appropriated to S. John the Evangelist and S. Jerome, and the ox and the lion emulated in other sacred personages the owl of Athena and the panther of Dionysus. The gildings and glories vanished only gradually before the progress of good taste, till at last in the full bloom of the Renaissance the latter came to be indicated only by a circle round the heads of holy personages. The ecclesiastical love of finery may be illustrated by an anecdote in Vasari.¹ When Cosimo Rosselli was employed by Sixtus IV., in company with other celebrated artists, to paint subjects in fresco in the Sistine chapel, feeling that he had not much invention, he resolved to make up for this want by the gorgeousness of his piece. He used in it the finest ultramarines and other brilliant colours; he gilded not only the robes of his figures and the clouds, but even the grass and the trees. Loud and long was the laughter of his fellow-artists when he uncovered his fresco. But Rosselli knew the taste of the Pope, who had promised a reward for the piece which should most please him, and it was at once awarded to Rosselli. The other painters were directed to make their pictures as rich with colour and gilding as Rosselli's, and with heavy hearts set about spoiling what they had done. In like manner the fondness of the Roman Church for pomp, strove to give to the humble origin and nature of Christianity all the splendour of worldly greatness, and thus led to many inconsistencies and absurdities. The birth of Christ was often represented among magnificent ruins instead of in a stable; the Virgin was supposed to have been crowned in heaven with a regal diadem, and Apostles and Saints

¹ "Opere," t. ii., p. 384 *seq.*

were honoured with titles of nobility. Thus Dante alludes to S. Peter as "quel Baron;"¹ and Boccaccio calls S. Anthony "Baron messer S. Antonio."

But, in spite of these drawbacks, the great merits of the Church as the chief reviver and munificent patron of Art, must not be ignored. It must be acknowledged that the subjects which it proposed were, on the whole, advantageous. They were such as might, in those ages, excite and satisfy the imagination of the faithful, stimulate the artist's fancy, keep him from mean and trivial subjects, and direct him towards something sublime and above the human mould. It could not have been a bad beginning which, as bigotry diminished and the Popes themselves became half pagan, led ultimately to the divine works of Lionardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo. Neither Protestantism, nor private patronage, too often of the vulgar and uneducated rich, could have led to such a result. We have the proof of it in the Dutch and English schools, whose works, with all their merits in their own lines, cannot for a moment be compared with the grand productions of the Italian pencil. Art, too, was fortunate at its revival in the almost unlimited space offered for its labours, and the kind of painting which it demanded. The extensive walls of churches and other public buildings necessitated subjects to be represented on a large or life-size scale, and the technical skill of the greatest artists was required and improved in the working of them out in fresco.

I will close this section with an account of two ancient and two modern paintings which bear some analogy to one another, and may thus serve to illustrate the difference between Greek and Italian Art. These are the Capture of Troy, and the Nekyia, or Infernal Regions, by Polygnotus, and the Triumph of Death and Hell, in

¹ "Parad.," xxiv., 115.

the Pisan Campo Santo, attributed to the Orcagnas. The Greek and Italian painters flourished in very similar stages of art; when considerable perfection had been attained in the delineation of the human figure, and in expression, but when there were still many technical defects, and especially in perspective.

Pausanias, who in general is very chary of descriptions, has fortunately given us long accounts of the pictures of Polygnotus, from which I have here selected the following traits. They were in the Leschë¹ at Delphi, and so large that they filled the whole building. The subjects were taken partly from Homer, partly from the cyclic poets; and hence, as the characters were not generally known, Polygnotus had inscribed their names above them. This, in the case of a proper name, does not show that the art was bad, as it would in the case of a generic object; and indeed we meet with the practice in some of the most beautiful bas-reliefs of later ages. So also in the Triumph of Death, the meaning is aided by scrolls.

The Capture of Troy showed the coast before that city, and the ship of Menelaus with a crew of men and boys; in the midst of whom stood the bearded pilot, Phrontis, holding two long boat-hooks. Ithæmenes was carrying clothes on board, and Echæax was leaving the vessel with a brazen pitcher. Near the ship, the tent of Menelaus, and an adjoining one, were being struck. Briseïs, Diomedë, and Iphis were looking with admiration at Helen, who, with Eurybates, sat near. A female slave stood behind her, another was fastening her sandals; a sign that the hour of departure drew near. Beyond Helen was Helenus, and some wounded men; on a line with her were seen the mother of Theseus and Demophon his son: meditating, as it seemed,

¹ A sort of ancient casino. Pausan., x., 25-31.

whether he should be able to save Æthra, a slave of Helen's, whom he had begged of Agamemnon, whilst Eurybates was soliciting her from Helen. Hecuba, and other Trojan women were seen lamenting. Andromachë and Medecicastë wore veils; Polyxena had her hair bound high above her head, in maiden fashion. The last figure towards the end, where the sea terminated the prospect, was Nestor, with a spear in his hand, and wearing a woollen cap.

Between Nestor and Æthra, and above them in the picture, or, as we should say, in the middle distance, were Creüsa and several captive women, and further on, others on a couch. In the background was seen the wall of Troy, and Epeus, naked, engaged in demolishing it; above it appeared the head of the wooden horse, before it stood some of the Grecian victors. Among them was Polypoites, binding his hair with a fillet; Acamas, putting on his helmet; Odysseus, adjusting his breast-plate; the Oilean Ajax, at an altar, taking an oath about his outrage on Cassandra, who sat on the ground and grasped the image of Athena. There also were the two Atridæ. On the shield of Menelaus was depicted the serpent seen at Aulis, portentous of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. Neoptolemus had just killed Elusus, and was despatching with his sword Autonus, who had fallen at his feet. An altar with a breast-plate on it, by which stood Laodikë, was grasped by an affrighted child. Next Medusa, by some deemed a daughter of Priam, was seated on the ground, and grasped with both hands a stone basis. Then was seen an old woman, with her hair shaved off, and in her lap a naked child holding its hand before its eyes, for fear. Among the slain were Palis, unclothed and lying on his back; Eioneus and Admetus, with their breast-plates still on, and others beyond. Priam,

Sinon and Anchialus were carrying off the body of Laomedon. Antenor's house had a panther's skin hung over the entrance, a sign to the Greeks to spare it. Theano was there with her sons; Glaucus sat on a breast-plate, Eurymachus on a rock. Beside him stood Antenor with his daughter Crino carrying a child. The faces of all these showed a deep sense of their misfortune. Domestics were placing a box and other articles on an ass's back, on which also sat a child.

The incidents and horrors attending the capture of a city are here admirably shown, whilst the more revolting scenes are kept in the background. A want of perspective may perhaps be inferred from the emotions of the distant figures being distinctly shown. They were probably almost as large as those in the foreground, as is also the case in Orcagna's Triumph of Death. The striking of the tents and preparing the ship for sea must have presented an animated scene. The beauty of Helen is well indicated by the admiring looks of Briseïs and her companions; as coming from her own sex, perhaps a higher tribute than that of the old men on the walls of Troy in Homer's beautiful description. The whole subject offered many incidents for the display of character and pathos (ἡθῆ καὶ πάθος), in which lay the superior excellence of Polygnotus. Such are the anxiety of Demophon, the admiration of Briseïs, the grief of the Trojan women, the despair of Cassandra, still clutching the image of the goddess whom she served; above all, the child who grasps the altar, and he who covers his eyes for fear.

The *Nekyia*, or descent of Odysseus to the infernal regions, is too long to be described, nor is it of equal interest. In that gloomy realm, hope and fear, the great motive passions, are at an end, and curiosity is no longer excited or gratified by the expectation or the

spectacle of some catastrophe. But even here Polygnotus showed his skill in depicting character and expression. Hector sat with an afflicted air, with hands round his knee, ruminating on the fall of his native city. Sarpedon covered his face with his hands. Paris still retained his amorous propensities, and was clapping his hands to attract the attention of Penthesilea, who appeared to despise him. Phædra, still of remarkable beauty, seemed to be attaching the rope with which she hanged herself. Fortunately the ancients were unacquainted with the Devil and his imps; and if the picture showed some appropriate and well-merited punishments, there was nothing disgusting and repulsive. Pausanias concludes his account by expressing his admiration of the number of the figures and the general beauty of the picture. That it should have lasted so many centuries shows that the earliest Greek artists must have used excellent colours and been acquainted with the best methods of preserving them.

The lofty and spacious walls of the Pisan Campo Santo, erected towards the end of the 13th century, and enclosing earth from the holy land for the reception of the bones of the faithful, offered an extensive space to the artist, and at the same time suggested the nature of his subjects. Death with all its consequences naturally formed the inspiration of the place. The subject has been admirably treated in the fresco called *The Triumph of Death*, which represents the course of human life, its frivolous pleasures, its industrious pursuits, its misfortunes and disasters, and the common end of all alike. Had the artist, whether he be Andrea Orcagna, as is commonly supposed, or Lorenzetti of Siena, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle think,¹ attained a technical

¹ "Hist. of Painting," vol. i. p. 444 It may be observed that the scrolls in
sqg. (B. ii., Kap. 1, S. 26, Jordan's tr.) the piece, which cannot now be well

proficiency equal to the strength of his fancy and invention, we should have had in this fresco one of the most extraordinary pictures in the world. The chief difficulty lay in designing a scene which, without too great a violation of propriety, should be capable of embracing so many and such widely different subjects. It must necessarily be a spacious one, and therefore demanded a knowledge of perspective which, as in the time of Polygnotus, had not yet been attained. It is chiefly on this head that the spectator will be called upon to make allowances, and not complain too loudly if distant figures seem too near, or mountain, valley, and sky are thrown together in strange confusion. In other respects, and particularly in expression, there is, as in the Capture of Troy, nothing but what is admirable. We must therefore content ourselves, as in reading the "*Divina Commedia*," with the separate scenes it presents. For as Dante, with whose spirit the painter seems to have been impregnated, leads us from one scene to another, first in Hell, then in Purgatory, and lastly in Heaven, so we have here pictures of happiness and misery on earth, of preparations for another life, of the coming of Death and the fate of the wicked and the just.

The examination of the picture should begin on the right hand side, where a goodly company of ladies and gentlemen are seated under the shade of orange-trees. They are supposed to be portraits, but the memory of all has perished except that of Castruccio, Lord of Lucca, a great general and dreaded enemy of the

deciphered, have been supplemented by Vasari ("*Opere*," t. i., p. 194) from Orcagna's published works, a fact that affords strong proof that the picture was by him. C. and C. do not mention this circumstance. Vasari attributes the piece to Orcagna, without intimating

the slightest doubt of its authenticity. C. and C.'s argument is founded entirely on the internal evidence of style, in which I pretend not to follow them. But I shall return to this subject when considering the progress of the Renaissance.

Florentines in the early part of the 14th century.¹ He sits in the middle of the group, having an azure-coloured hood, and in his hand a falcon. On the extreme left a cavalier, also with a falcon on his hand, is avowing his passion to a lady with a lap-dog. Above them hover two little Amoretti.² Couples behind seem also to be whispering words of love, whilst some on the right of the group are listening to the notes of a lute. The whole scene reminds one of the "Decameron," from some of the tales in which we gather what a favourite pursuit hawking then was; but as that work was not published till 1353, it could not have suggested a picture painted by any of the Lorenzetti, though Orcagna would doubtless have read it.

To the left of this joyous group and near the middle of the picture, Death, with clawed hands and feet and the wings of a bat, hovers triumphant. He has already mown down with his huge scythe a heap of persons of every age, sex, and condition, and prepares to strike at the company just described. Behind him, in the air, two Angels hold a scroll on which Vasari read:—

"Ischermo di sapere e di ricchezza,
Di nobiltate ancora e di prodezza,
Vale niente ai colpi di costei."

But he has spared another group of halt and blind, of old and maimed, who in vain invoke his aid:—

"Da che prosperitate ci ha lasciati,
O morte medicina d' ogni pena,
Deh vieni a darne omai l' ultima cena."

In the air above angels and demons are carrying off

¹ "Vasari," i., 193.

² Crowe and Cavalcaselle call them Genii of death. But they have completely the human figure; whilst the demons who are carrying away the souls

of the defunct, besides being larger, have the bodies of birds. Besides, Death himself is about to strike this pair with his scythe.

the souls of the departed, to heavenly bliss, or to precipitate them into the volcano of a distant mountain. Some of these angels are of exceeding beauty.

In contrast with the gay company on the right, is another at the extreme left, consisting of three kings with their ladies on horseback, who are going a-hawking. On their way they are stopped by S. Macarius, who points out to them the corpses also of three confined kings in various stages of decay. This scene is depicted with wonderful power. The mounted king in the middle, said to be Andrea Ugneccione della Faggiuola, holds his nose at the stench, whilst his horse, with outstretched neck, snorts in dismay. The king on his right seems, as the cant phrase runs, to be "improving the occasion" by pointing out the bodies to the lady riding at his side. Her sadness at the sight, drooping her head and raising her hand to her chin, is admirably expressed. The remaining king rises in the stirrups and peers over his horse's head in well expressed alarm.

The moral of the piece is conveyed by the group of monks or hermits, on a hill which overhangs the royal cavalcade. These characteristic figures, worthy of the pencil of Giotto, are elevated by their pursuits above the moral world as they are by their position above the material one. They have exchanged the pomps and vanities, the cares and pleasures of the groups below for study and devout contemplation, and all their worldly business seems to be to prepare the simple diet required for the passing day. One is milking a goat; others are reading or absorbed in holy contemplation. The innocence of their lives is typified by the deer and the rabbit quietly reposing near them. It is from this holy company that S. Macarius has descended to arrest at the hill's foot the gay cavalcade

and remind them of the fate of all human things. Compared with ancient art, such a picture is as indicative of the changed spirit of the modern world as Dante's poem is compared with Homer's or Virgil's. In pagan antiquity it would have been simply impossible.

The fresco of Hell, on the same wall, sometimes supposed to be the joint work of Andrea Orcagna and his brother Bernardo, is too terrible and disgusting to dwell upon. It is, too, in so dilapidated a condition that some parts of it can with difficulty be made out. This is particularly the case with the middle portion, which contains the most striking and original figure in the piece, namely, Satan, in the shape of a bestial, bull-like figure of enormous size. He is in the centre of several *bolgie*, or compartments appropriated to the punishment of particular sins, in imitation of Dante's "Inferno." The delineation of disembowelled persons, of others folded in serpent coils, or holding their heads in their hands, demands not much imagination, and where it does not revolt can excite only ridicule.

SECTION II.

ON THE NATURE AND KINDS OF IMITATIVE ART, THEIR ENDS AND QUALITIES.

FINE Art consists in the imitation of visible objects by means of form and colour; by form alone, or mostly so, in sculpture, and by both combined in painting. Imitation of itself, without reference to the object imitated, is capable of giving pleasure. This is well shown by Aristotle, who observes that representations of the most loathsome reptiles, and even of dead ones, from which, when alive, we should turn with disgust, are capable of giving delight. This delight, he goes on to say, arises from the recognition of some object already known; otherwise, if it had not been previously seen, the pleasure would not spring from imitation, but from the workmanship, the colour, or some such cause.¹ A most important principle of art, and applicable not only to the simple objects before mentioned but also to the most elaborate pictures of the greatest artists. Lessing rightly insists on the necessity for this previous knowledge, and supports it also by Aristotle's authority, as conveyed in an anecdote told by Pliny of his counselling the painter Protogenes to take his subjects from the history of Alexander the Great, which was universally known and would always be remembered.²

Painting has often been compared with poetry from

¹ "Poet.," c. 4. So also Byron says: "I know nothing of painting, and detest it, unless it reminds me of something I have seen, or think it possible

to see." Quoted by Mr. Moore in his edition of the "Poetics."

² "Laokoon," § xi. ; Plin., "N. H.," xxxv., 36, 20.

the capability of both to convey images and actions to the mind. Nay, Aristotle ranks poetry itself under the imitative arts. But as a general comparison, it is somewhat lax and undefined. To call a narrative poem, like the “Æneid” for example, imitative, is surely an abuse of terms, for imitation and narrative are distinct things. The drama alone is truly and essentially imitative, and this in a much higher degree than even painting or sculpture. For while these arts appeal only to the eye, a play addresses the ear as well. We not only see the different characters, but also, as in real life, hear their sentiments and the nature of the action in which they are engaged. An heroic poem also, when conducted in Homer’s manner, with continual action and frequent dialogue, much resembles a drama; and particularly must this have been the case when recited with proper gesticulation by the *ἀοιδοί*, or bards. It was these two kinds of poetry that were prevalent in Greece in Aristotle’s time, and probably suggested the comparison.

This resemblance has induced some critics to carry the parallel throughout, and to maintain that whatever can be described in a poem may be represented in a picture, and, *vice versâ*, whatever may be shown in a picture may be told in a poem. On this principle Count Caylus proposed a series of pictures from Homer, the absurdity of which has been admirably exposed by Lessing, from the different nature and method of the two arts.¹ I think, however, he would have done better by avoiding the metaphysical distinction which he draws between the arts from Space and Time: viz., that a picture, since it requires room is an art in space, and a poem, as being delivered by successive words and sentences, an art in time. I venture to think that it

¹ “Laokoon,” § xi. *seq.*

would suffice to draw the distinction from the *means* at the disposal of each art, and the different *faculties*, or *senses*, to which they are addressed. Time and Space do nothing. They are merely the necessary conditions for doing something; the first elements, in fact, of existence in all its kinds. Instead of saying that a picture is an object in space, and a poem an object in time, would it not be both simpler and truer to say that a picture is an object composed of lines and colours addressed to the eye, a poem of words addressed to the ear; and that, therefore, from the nature of those faculties—the eye, in many cases, comprehending the object at once, the ear only by slow degrees—it is impossible that an object fit for the one method should always be so for the other?

Lessing illustrates his position by taking a single figure, a Venus, or an Armida, and nothing can be more just than the way in which he shows the unsatisfactory nature of all attempts to describe their personal charms in detail, which the poet must necessarily do; whilst, on the other hand, a picture presents them to the eye complete and at once. But if we carry our view a little further, to an historical painting for example, it will be found that a thorough comprehension of it often requires as much time, or even more, than would be necessary for the recital of the episode which it represents. Take, for instance, Raphael's cartoon of S. Paul at Lystra. The whole story is told in eleven verses of the Acts,¹ and would take about a minute to recite; lovers of art might spend at least ten in contemplating that picture, and mastering all its details. How much more would this be the case in larger compositions! The School of Athens for example, or Michelangelo's Last Judgment?

¹ Ch. xiv., v. 8-18.

Lessing's distinction is no doubt fundamentally true; but it is a useless and pedantic one, and teaches us nothing. Everybody is aware that a picture, or a statue, must have room to stand in, and that a poem, or a piece of music, must be consecutive in delivery, and therefore occupy more or less time. Perhaps it would hardly have been necessary to advert to this subject did not Lessing's view seem likely to be carried a great deal further than he probably intended. Mr. Sandys, in his excellent edition of the *Bacchæ* of Euripides (p. xcix) adopts, apparently from Prof. Colvin, the terms *time arts* for music and poetry, and *space arts* for painting and sculpture. Lessing did not go so far as that, and would, I think, have revolted from such a nomenclature. If we must give them new names, *ear-arts* and *eye-arts* would have been better. But it is better still to be plain and simple, and to make no such classifications, for their usual names convey a sufficient idea of their nature. The Germans call music a *tone-art*, which being derived from its material, is a just and proper name. But it is to be hoped that it will not be introduced into our language, for *music* contains the whole idea that it presents. And if we are to range the arts under new categories, should not the poet and painter be considered as well as the hearer and spectator? In which case it will be found, I think, that the painting of a great historical picture has often taken a great deal more time than would the composing of the narrative on which it may be founded.

It seems to me that Lessing's remarks on the impropriety of describing personal beauty might, with great advantage, be carried further. It has latterly become the fashion to give long descriptions of landscapes, which sometimes extend over several pages, yet, speaking from my own impressions, leave but a very vague

idea behind. They are liable to the same objection as the description of a person; all the component parts must be described separately, and then put together in the reader's mind, who has probably forgotten some of them, or gives an undue prominence to those that have struck him most. In a merely technical point of view, and without reference to the subject, landscape is the peculiar triumph of pictorial art. In the representation of figures it shares with sculpture; in that of scenery, it stands alone. The vivid colours blending together in the foreground, or melting in the distance; the transition from tones of earth to those of sky; the effects of storm and sunshine; of the different times of day, or various seasons of the year, are so delicate and indistinct that no language can convey an adequate idea of them. One might as well attempt to discriminate, and fix in words, the subtle differences of the sense of smell, or the endless variety of the tastes of the palate. We can indicate their prevailing qualities only by a few general and abstract terms, as sweet, sour, bitter, and so forth; and the same is the case with tints and colours. Form, indeed, may be more easily described, as the shape of a tree, the contour of a mountain, the expanse of a lake, or the windings of a river. But to describe all the minute differences of form in these would be an endless task, and would, after all, only give us a pencil sketch, and not a picture.

The ancient writers did wisely in abstaining from all lengthened descriptions of scenery. They contented themselves with giving the principal and marking features, leaving to the fancy the completion of the picture. There is a good example in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, where the Messenger describes the glen in which he found the Mænads. It was shut in with precipitous rocks, watered by a stream, completely shaded by

southern stone-pines, whose bushy, umbrella-like heads formed an impervious shade. Here, with only three features, we have a striking picture of a gloomy ravine. Any additions to it would only weaken the effect, as Mr. Sandys has well shown by comparing this description with one of Shelley's, of a similar subject. That poet, not content with the pine, must also have cedars and yews with intersecting trunks; and he mats the "tangled hair," that is, the foliage of all these trees together with ivy into a *solid* shade, which is unnatural, or rather impossible.

" High above there grew,
With intersecting trunks from crag to crag,
Cedars, and yews, and pines; whose tangled hair
Is matted in one solid roof of shade
By the dark ivy's twine,"¹

Here the general effect of the scene is weakened, from the attention being called away from it to the details of the objects which produce it. A somewhat similar example may be cited from the opening scene of the "Philoctetes" of Sophocles; where the solitary abode of the crippled and foot-sore hero on the desolate shore of Lemnos is described in a few touches: a double-mouthed cavern in the pathless mountain; below, a little spring of water; within, a rude wooden cup, materials for lighting a fire, and a few putrefying rags. What a subject was here for amplification in the modern style!

It must not be supposed that the ancients had no feeling for the beauties of nature because they avoided all lengthened and impertinent descriptions of them. It might as well be said that Homer had no sense of female beauty, because, instead of a minute description of Helen's person, he merely indicates its loveliness by the

¹ "Cenci," iii., 243 *seq.* Cf. Eurip., "Bacchæ," 1051 *seq.*; Sandys, "Introd.," p. lxx. *seq.*

admiration which it excites in the Trojan elders. By such an indirect indication he raises more admiration of it, as Lessing well observes,¹ than any detailed description could have done. Such a description, he knew, would be a mistake in poetical art; and the same observation applies to scenery. It is the business of the poet to rouse the fancy by a few striking touches, and leave the rest to the imagination of the reader. This part of the subject has also been well illustrated by Lessing in his remarks upon Von Haller's "Alpen."²

In familiar and domestic narrative, however, such as the novel, the description of a house, or a room, and the furniture it contains, has sometimes a good effect, because it helps us to understand the characters of the persons who occupy the scene; and because such objects, being productions of art, may be easily and accurately described. Such descriptions may be compared to a little Dutch picture, which at once makes us at home with the inmates. Dickens excelled in describing such scenes. But here, also, moderation should be observed. The practice is now repeated *usque ad nauseam*, and seems, indeed, to form the chief stock-in-trade of some of our writers. But it is a cheap sort of art, requiring but little fancy or invention, and having sometimes a close affinity to a broker's catalogue or inventory.

The end both of poetry and art is to strike the imagination. But this may be done in a great variety of ways. We may be pleased and dazzled by mere beauty, or our thoughts may be elevated by the contemplation of grandeur and sublimity, which last, however, as before remarked, falls from its vagueness almost solely under the domain of poetry. A much wider field is opened where human actions and passions are con-

¹ "Laokoon," § xxi.

² Ibid., § xvii.

cerned. This comprehends in endless variety all the acts and emotions which spring from love, hatred, jealousy, revenge, ambition, and all the other passions which agitate the soul. And as these alone are capable of rousing in us a sympathetic interest, they are the fittest subjects for the poet and the artist. Art thus falls into two main divisions: 1, that which represents mere physical objects; 2, that which combines with them the representation of some action. Under the first class fall pictures of still life, landscape, also portrait, in so far as it shows no action, though, from the association of ideas, it may be capable of awakening sympathy. In the second class are comprehended all representations of an action, and what are called historical pictures. It may be observed, however, that the actions of men, besides being grand or pathetic, are often mean, trivial, and ridiculous. These form the subjects of what is called *genre* painting and of caricature. *Genre* pictures may often interest by their pathos, or amuse by their naturalness and humour, and hence they are admirably adapted to adorn our houses. But it is the object of the present work to speak only of that higher kind of art shown in the historical picture and the *chefs-d'œuvre* of sculpture. It is in these that the artist becomes in some sort the rival of the poet and historian.

Richardson observes: "To be an accomplished painter a man must possess more than one liberal art, which puts him on a level with those that do that, and makes him superior to those that possess but one in an equal degree: he must be also a curious artificer, whereby he becomes superior to one who equally possesses the other talents, but wants that. A Raffaelle, therefore, is not only equal, but superior to a Virgil or a Livy, a Thucydides, or a Homer." ¹

¹ "Works," p. 18 (ed. 1792).

There is a foundation of truth in this high-flown panegyric, which, however, requires considerable abatement. That a Raphael or a Lionardo must have a genius somewhat akin to a Virgil or a Homer, in so far that he must be able to enter entirely into the purpose and spirit of the author, is indisputably true; but this does not put the artist in the same rank with those poets. For theirs is the creative genius which invents and sets before him the subject which he only copies. Skill of hand, however excellent, against this mental excellence, can only be as dust in the scale. The prerogative of the poet is invention; that of the artist, imitation—words which at once show the difference of genius.

It is, however, further true that a painting or a piece of sculpture may recall at one view all the emotions which the poet has called forth only slowly and by degrees, with the further advantage that objects presented to the eye strike us more vividly than the images of them conveyed through the ear. But for this, as before remarked, it is necessary that the subject represented in art should be previously known; and the skill of the artist will be displayed in selecting for representation that stage of the action which shall best recall the story and its catastrophe. His chief talent is shown in choosing a proper subject—one, if grand, not incredible, if tragic, not revolting, and in representing the proper moment.

This last choice is, perhaps, the touchstone of the genius of an artist and demands the greatest care. Lessing observes that the moment should be one that allows the free play of the imagination, and must not therefore contain the highest stage of emotion; for as nothing remains beyond this, the wings of fancy are clipped. If Laocoon only sighs we can imagine him shrieking; but if he shrieks, the imagination can neither

go higher nor lower without seeing him in a less interesting condition. It hears either a mere moan, or sees him already dead.¹ Further: as the single moment of art is unchangeable, it must not show any mere transitory feeling. Democritus always laughing, would look like a fool; Laocoon always shrieking would display either effeminate impotence or the petulance of a child. And he illustrates this position by the picture of Timomachus of Medea and her children. He did not paint her in the act of murdering them, but a few moments before the deed, when motherly love was still struggling with the promptings of jealous fury. We see plainly enough what the result will be; but, for that very reason, the irresolution of Medea, made perpetual by art, is so far from giving offence that we wish it could really have been so.

Lessing's remarks about Laocoon are founded on a wrong idea of his physical condition. He is, in fact, in the very extremity of bodily suffering, as will be shown in the next Section. Instead of speaking about the *highest* stage of emotion, I venture to think that it would have been better to have said the *last* stage. Lessing is of course contemplating the state of Medea's mind from the moment when, stung by the jealousy and hatred she has conceived of Jason, she first entertained the project of murdering the children she has borne to him, down to the time when she carries it into execution. The question then occurs, when is this emotion at its highest point? Surely it must be in that terrible struggle when torn by two conflicting passions, maternal love on the one hand and thirst for vengeance on the other, she remains for some moments irresolute. At

¹ "In dem ganzen Verfolge eines Affects ist aber kein Augenblick der diesen Vortheil (i.e., was der Einbildungskraft freies Spiel lässt) weniger

hat, als die höchste Staffel desselben. Ueber ihr ist weiter nichts." u. s. w., "Laokoon," § iii.

last, when the uncontrollable sense of the wrongs she has suffered gains the mastery, the emotion changes its character. Maternal love has given way to jealous fury; and as there is no longer any struggle in the mind of Medea, so there is no longer any balance between hope and fear in the mind of the spectator, and his previous sympathy with the injured mother changes into abhorrence.

Instead, therefore, of saying that the moment chosen should not contain the highest stage of emotion (*eines Affects*), it seems to me better to say that it should not represent the last stage of it. For surely if the end of art be to strike the imagination, how can that be better done than by depicting the highest degree of emotion? And such is that of the irresolute Medea torn by two conflicting passions.

It may be further observed that Lessing's remarks can apply only to subjects of a tragic character, and not to all of these; for there are some acts that cannot be shown at all except in their completion. Such are Elymas struck blind, and the death of Ananias, in Raphael's cartoons. This is still more the case with merely historical subjects. How could Constantine's baptism, or his donation to the Pope, or Theodosius denied admission to the church by S. Ambrose, be represented except in the act?

From these considerations it appears to me that, in subjects at least of a tragic nature, instead of defining the proper moment as that which allows the free play of the imagination, a better definition would be, that which is capable of exciting the greatest amount of sympathy. This feeling is not so much stirred by death, the common lot of all, nor by the perpetration of a deed of horror, as by the circumstances which precede the final catastrophe. The reason is, that most of us have, in a greater

or less degree, found ourselves in some such circumstances; or at all events to an extent that may aid the fancy in picturing sufferings and emotions more intense. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." For my own part, at least, I must confess that when I look upon such a picture as that of Medea, I am more touched by the terrible storm of conflicting passions depicted in the countenance and bearing of the heroine than by any thoughts of what may follow; though, according to Lessing's theory, we are not so much moved by what we actually see, as by the idea of what is to come.

The pictures of Medea and Ajax, with which Lessing illustrates his argument, were pendants, and the work of Timomachus of Byzantium, who lived in the time of Cæsar's dictatorship, and acquired by them a world-wide renown. They are alluded to by Cicero in his action against Verres¹ for their extraordinary beauty, and were bought for eighty talents by Cæsar, who placed them in the temple he had dedicated to Venus Genitrix. Ajax² was sitting in his tent, surrounded by the slaughtered sheep which, in his insane fury, he had supposed to be Trojans. His eyes still retained an expression of rage mingled with despair, and he was evidently meditating the suicide which he eventually committed; the most touching moment, as Lessing observes, in which he could be represented.

When Lessing says that the moment chosen must not show any mere transitory emotion, he would seem altogether to forbid the depicting of emotion; for by its very nature all emotion is transitory; and if it were a permanent condition, it would not be emotion. In looking at such pictures as the Ajax or Medea of Timomachus, the beholder is well aware that he sees only one

¹ iv. 60, 135. Cf. Plin., "N. H.," xxxv., 40, 30.

² See Philostrat., "Vita Apollon," ii., 22.

moment of an action, and does not suppose that the expression will be always the same in those persons, though it must necessarily be so in their pictures. The irresolution of Medea is a transitory feeling: yet Lessing says that we are so pleased with it as to wish that it might be perpetual, as it is made by art. We have here an implied admission that the objection to the depicting of emotion cannot be grounded on its transitoriness. On what then is it thought to rest? Apparently on the nature of the emotion. You may depict Medea irresolute, but you must not show Democritus laughing, or Laocoon shrieking. Whether he shrieks or not is a moot point which I shall discuss hereafter. But the answer to the objection has been already given—the spectator does not suppose that he will be *always* shrieking. Democritus is in the same predicament. The busts of Voltaire have a perpetual sardonic grin, which, however, is very far from being a foolish one; and the same may have been the case with Democritus. The Kentaur-Faun, who has laughed perhaps twenty centuries, still commands the admiration of the world.

The moment itself may be liable to very subtle discriminations, in which, as much as in its selection, the genius of the artist may be displayed. They are such as no mere precepts can teach. Richardson has well illustrated this matter in his “Treatise on Painting” by a supposed picture of the woman taken in adultery. Here might be represented the Scribes and Pharisees making their accusation; or our Saviour writing on the ground; or bidding the Pharisees to cast the first stone; or, lastly, giving absolution to the woman. The first method must be rejected, as showing the Scribes and Pharisees the chief actors. The second places Christ in an ungraceful posture, and contributes nothing to the progress of the action. The fourth must also be rejected.

For although it is the principal act, and has the most dignity, yet the chief actors would have departed, and the story be at an end. Thus the third method is the best. For in it also Christ is dignified; the accusers are abashed and confounded; whilst hope and joy are springing up in the face of the accused.¹ It may be added that it also tells the story more completely than any of the other methods could have done. From the accusation, or the writing on the ground, nothing can be inferred; but the confusion of the Pharisees shows a charge rejected, and foreshadows the acquittal of the accused.

A nice choice of the moment may also be illustrated by two ancient pictures of Medea. They are both copies of some famous piece, possibly that of Timomachus before alluded to; but it is well known that copyists often took the liberty of making some variations from the originals, which they doubtless considered to be improvements. In a Pompeian picture Medea is seen with an expression of irresolution, as before described, but in the act of drawing her sword, whilst her two children are playing at dice, and their pædagogues turn away alarmed. In another picture at Herculaneum, or rather a fragment of one, in which only the figure of Medea remains, but which Herr Donner has shown to have originally formed part of a large picture comprehending, no doubt, the children and pædagogue also,² she has the same irresolute expression, and stands in the same attitude as in the Pompeian fresco; but instead of drawing the sword, she holds it before her in an almost perpendicular position, the handle downwards and her

¹ "Works," p. 27.

² The artist was compelled to make Medea an isolated figure, from the fresco having dried too rapidly. The drapery of the two figures, and even the colour-

ing, are the same, and the backgrounds of both pictures are much alike. Donner, "Abhandlung," S. lxxx., prefixed to Helbig's "Wandgemälde."

thumbs meeting over it. An attitude which portrays indecision much better than the other picture; for it must have been at an end had she once begun to draw the sword, and her irresolute face is then no longer in keeping with the act. This Herculean picture was doubtless nearer to the original. A still further degradation of the subject is shown in a group found at Arles, where Medea had completely drawn the sword, and the affrighted children were nestling together.¹

Here the question might be raised, what figure should be most prominently shown in depicting a catastrophe? In most cases, no doubt, it should be the principal actor; and Richardson rightly decides, in the instance adduced, that it should be Christ. But this may not be always the case. It may be sometimes preferable to call attention to the person who is the object of the action rather than to the actor. Kugler objects to Leandro Bassano's fine picture of the Raising of Lazarus, in the Venetian Academy (No. 494), that the astonishment of the bystanders is excited more by the figure of Lazarus than by Christ.² But it seems to me that this is as it should be. The principal object of the picture being to show the miracle, Bassano took the best method of accomplishing it by depicting the astonishment of the spectators at the sight of Lazarus reviving, which must have momentarily overpowered every other feeling. The subject presented two moments: the wonder of the spectators at seeing the miracle, and their admiration of Christ as the worker of it. But the miracle is the cause of all, and therefore deserves the first place. And thus in a fresco in the Brancacci Chapel, in the church of the Carmine at Florence, of a youth resuscitated by

¹ Helbig, "Wandgemälde," p. 151.

² "Handbook," p. 471 (ed. Eastlake).
This picture was Leandro's masterpiece, and procured him so much honour from

Doge Grimani that he got a sort of craze. See Rosini, "Storia della Pittura Ital.," t. v., p. 261.

S. Peter, the bystanders are represented looking at the object of the miracle, and not at S. Peter. The same is the case in Raphael's cartoon of the death of Ananias.

Lanzi¹ has carried this matter to a very high pitch of refinement. He observes that as the painter has only one moment, he must endeavour to show not only what is then doing, but also what is going to be done, and which is still more difficult, what has been done already: which amounts to saying that he must aim at showing the whole progress of the story, and thus emulate the poet. Lanzi at once illustrates his position and shows Raphael's great excellence in design, by citing his cartoon of S. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra. Here we not only see the preparations made for sacrificing to Paul, and his abhorrence and refusal shown by the rending of his garments, but also what led to the act, by the introduction of the cripple, who has thrown aside his crutches and displays his gladness and admiration at Paul's miraculous achievement. Some painters, says Lanzi, might have been content with this trait; but Raphael has added a group of people who lift the cripple's garments, and gaze on his healed legs with wonder.

This is a legitimate way of emulating the poet; but some artists, both ancient and modern, in their attempts to do so, and to tell the whole story in one canvas, have mistaken the nature of their art, and have only succeeded in destroying the unity of the subject. The Greeks often introduced two moments into a bas-relief.² They also did so in painting, but apparently seldomer. On a painted vase found at Canosa even three moments are shown: Merope hastening to her chamber with her magic crown on fire; again in her chamber falling dead on her bed; and, lastly, descending to the infernal re-

¹ "Storia," &c., t. ii., p. 80.

² Tolkien, "Ueber das Basrelief," p. 86 seq.

gions.¹ But among all the pictures found in the buried cities of Campania, there is only one which certainly contains a double moment. It is a landscape with the story of Diana and Actæon in a house in the Vicolo dell' Anfiteatro at Pompeii. On the left Diana is seen naked and about to bathe in a stream which falls from the rocks, whilst Actæon peeps over a wall which conceals her. On the right is seen his punishment. He is defending himself against a dog, whilst Diana, now fully clothed, is setting on another, and herself preparing to attack him.²

The Italian painters frequently committed the fault in question, for such it must be called. In the Brancacci fresco of the tribute money, which is undoubtedly by Masaccio, Christ is seen in the foreground speaking with the Apostles on the subject, whilst on the left of the same picture is shown the taking of the fish with the money, and on the right the payment of the tribute. What makes the matter still worse, one of the Apostles is calling Christ's attention to the payment, though he is still directing Peter to fetch the money. In another fresco is seen on one side S. Peter accused before Nero, and on the other side his crucifixion. This is defended by Crowe and Cavalcaselle,³ on the ground that there is an open door between the two pieces, by which S. Peter may be supposed to have been carried out; but this makes some demand on the spectator's ingenuity, for the fresco is all in one piece. In a third fresco of S. Peter resuscitating a youth, that Apostle is seen on the right, enthroned in a sort of niche in an attitude of devotion, and three kneeling figures

¹ Jacobs, Pref. in "Philostratorum Imagg.," Not. 20, p. xlv.

² Helbig, "Wandgemälde der verschütteten Städte Campaniens," No. 252, p. 70. Another picture of the same

subject, in the House of Sallust, seems, however, to present Actæon twice.—*Ibid.*, 249b.

³ "Hist. of Ital. Painting," Jordan's Transl., B. iii., S. 186.

before him. The story is thought to be taken from the Golden Legend telling how Peter recalled to life the son of Theophilus, Prince of Antioch.¹ Here at least there is no artificial division of the two subjects; and indeed three figures who turn to S. Peter enthroned appear to belong to the very same group which is intent on his miracle.

Andrea del Sarto frequently offends in this way. There is a very gross instance in his fresco in the Annunziata at Florence, of the death of S. Philip. The dead boy, who is brought to life by the touch of the saint's bier, is doubly represented, first as lying dead, and then as springing into life. It may be said that painting has no other way of showing such an event. Allowed: but in that case the painter should avoid such a subject, and not trench upon the province of the poet or historian. The same thing is rather better done in the fresco, just mentioned, of the son of Theophilus, where his death is indicated by a skull and bones. The same piece of Del Sarto, though beautifully painted, has also another and perhaps greater fault in presenting two subjects. Most of the assistants are occupied with the dying saint, whilst the attention of those in the foreground is engrossed by the reviving boy. Thus the unity of the subject is destroyed, and the spectator knows not whether he is called upon to witness the saint's death, or the miracle which ensued upon it.

Correggio sometimes falls into the fault in question. In a picture of the contest of Apollo and Marsyas no fewer than three moments are presented; the actual contest, the condemnation of Marsyas by Minerva, and his punishment.² One would think that by some ingenuity like that exercised by Raphael in his cartoon of S. Paul at Lystra, before alluded to, the preceding events might have been indicated in the catastrophe.

¹ "Hist. of Ital. Painting," Jordan's Transl., b. ii., s. 111 *seq.*

² Lanzi.

I know not whether Raphael himself is wholly exempt from this error. In his admirable fresco of the liberation of S. Peter in the Stanza of Heliodorus in the Vatican, there are two moments. The piece, indeed, is divided by the architecture into three compartments. In the middle one is seen the sleeping Peter awakened by the Angel who looses his chains. In that on the right, the Angel leads him forth from prison without awakening the two sleeping guards. In that on the left are four other guards, three of whom are alarmed by the supernatural light proceeding from the Angel, whilst the fourth still slumbers. It can hardly be said that the architectural divisions make three pictures. For, first, the supernatural light proceeding from the Angel pervades all three: second, the four guards in the left hand compartment tally with those in the right, and by their alarm at the effulgence show that they belong to the same subject. The general effect, however, is so striking and magnificent that one could hardly desire any alteration. The introduction of the waning moon in the third compartment has been sometimes objected to, but it seems to me to have a double meaning: first, to indicate the night-time, which, from the great light in the picture might otherwise be overlooked; second, to enhance the effect of the Angel's effulgence, which overcomes not only the moonlight but also that of the torch carried by one of the guards, who, by pointing to the Angel, indicates to an affrighted comrade whence the supernatural light proceeds. This effulgence is also well shown by the attitude of the guard at the top of the steps, who bends his head and lifts his arm to screen it from his eyes. In Correggio's *Notte*, where there is a similar effulgence from the newborn Saviour, Richardson justly objects to the introduction of the full moon, seen through the trellis, which he

says only troubles the eye.¹ It was doubtless done in accordance with St. Luke's account that the shepherds who came to worship were keeping their flocks by night; but it has not, in point of art, the same motive as Raphael's moon. The Rembrandt-like effect of Correggio's picture might have been shown in the stable only; and probably the addition of a landscape was another motive for introducing the moon; for I cannot agree with Richardson that the light from the Saviour diffuses itself over all the picture.

The critic just cited brings a serious charge of the nature here under consideration, against Raphael's grand picture of the Transfiguration, as distracting the attention of the spectator from the principal action to a subordinate one. He truly remarks that "the incidental action of the man's bringing his son possessed with the dumb devil to the disciples, and their not being able to cast him out, is made at least as conspicuous, and as much a principal action, as that of the Transfiguration."² A more recent critic observes: "A page further in the Gospel is the story of the boy possessed by a devil. What a moment was that when the artist thought of uniting both scenes!"³ Such remarks are not very edifying unless some motive be suggested which may have led the artist to unite them. It occurs to me that Raphael's motive was, perhaps, the further glorification of Christ. As the scene above displays Him in the highest glory, so that below shows the inferiority of the Apostles by their impotence to work a miracle in His absence. To show their consciousness of this impotence, some of them are pointing to the Mount. I can imagine no other motive which would in the slightest degree connect the subjects. The earthly scene below, how-

¹ "Works," p. 53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³ Burckhardt, "Cicerone," p. 919. See S. Matthew, ch. xvii.

ever, detracts from the heavenly one above; as the larger figures in the foreground, and their animated action, divert attention from the sublime spectacle on the Mount. An historian of painting says that he can find no double action in the piece, and that the charge might be as justly brought against pictures of Christ in the garden, with the sleeping Apostles waiting for Him below.¹ But the difference is obvious. In the latter case there is no action, whilst in the subordinate group of the Transfiguration it is most lively. On the whole, I cannot help thinking that Raphael has here committed a fault — “*quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*” Of other objections not connected with the subject in hand, as the anatomical untruthfulness of the boy’s figure,² I need not here speak.

Guercino’s large picture of S. Petronilla, in the Capitoline Gallery at Rome, may perhaps escape the censure of a double moment, on the ground that the figure below being taken from the grave is her body, whilst that above, in the skies, is her glorified soul. But perhaps this last figure alone, with an empty sepulchre and figures standing round, as in Raphael’s picture of the Coronation of the Virgin, in the Vatican gallery, would have told the story better.

Another, and perhaps even graver, fault than a double action is such a presentment of a story that the main incident and principal personages are not the most conspicuous objects in a picture, but are obscured either by their position, or by the attention of the spectator being distracted by other and incoherent groups. As an instance of this fault, I will adduce Baldassare Perruzzi’s large fresco in the church of S. Maria della Pace, at Rome, of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.

¹ Rosini, cap. xxix. (vol. iv., p. 248, note 26).

² Bell, “Anatomy of Expression,” p. 161.

Peruzzi, being a great architect, and a master of perspective, has filled the background with magnificent architectural views, and most of the figures in the piece, especially that of the young woman descending the steps of the Temple with a child in her arms, are beautifully delineated and skilfully foreshortened. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who have given a plate of this fresco,¹ are justly loud in the praise of these particulars, which, after all, are technical ones; but when they proceed to commend the grouping, and the grandeur and beauty of the whole composition, I must venture to differ from their opinion. The figures of the Virgin and her mother, and of the some half-dozen persons who seem to take any interest in the act which forms the subject of the picture, are quite in the middle distance; and though by their position on the steps of the Temple, they are elevated above the heads of the figures in the foreground, yet these by their greater size and more conspicuous situation, almost exclusively arrest the attention of the spectator. A vulgar-looking groom, holding a fine horse, and in anything but an elegant posture, occupies by far the most prominent place. The master, who has dismounted,² is clothed in robes very unsuitable for a horseman, and is giving alms to a stalwart naked man in the left corner, who shows no signs of decrepitude or disease, but seems capable of enduring any sort of labour. Between the master and his horse are two figures; one of a woman with her back turned, who, by raising her hand seems to testify surprise at such an act of charity; next, an elderly man sitting on the lower step of the Temple, and absorbed in that crowded thoroughfare in reading a book. The remaining figures

¹ Vol. iv., ch. 11.

the true one. C. and C. give a different one.

² This description of the action is from Vasari (t. iii., p. 283), and is evidently

seem to be only idlers, and how any of them can be connected with the presentation in the Temple it is difficult to see. There may, perhaps, be some legend which explains what appears inexplicable, but Mrs. Jameson, my only guide in these obscure subjects, alludes not to the picture in her "Legends of the Madonna." Nor does she mention the fresco on the subject in the cloisters of Sta. Maria Novella at Florence, which, as Mr. Ruskin says,¹ evidently suggested Titian's picture in the Academy at Venice. In spite of faults in perspective, the subject is worthily conceived and treated; the high priest especially is a noble figure.

The faults which have struck me in Peruzzi's fresco are all faults of *Invention*, which is the very highest quality in painting, and in comparison of which all the rest are chiefly mechanical. "Invention," says Mengs, "is the Poetry of Painting. It selects the first idea of a work, which the painter should not lose sight of till the last stroke of his pencil. It suffices not that he should form good ideas, and fill his canvas with many figures, unless they all serve to explain the principal subject, and unless the whole composition acquaints the beholder with the motive (*assunto*) of it; so that he may be able to appreciate the expression, and the appropriate actions of the chief figures. Without this, it signifies nothing to depict violent emotion and varied action, as some do who wish to pass for ingenious inventors."²

It was in Invention that Raphael far excelled all other painters, and became *facile princeps* in his art; for to the greatest technical skill he united a truly poetical genius. It is from him we may learn how the composition should be managed when the principal figures are remote; for it is by no means always necessary and

¹ "Mornings in Florence," p. 36. He attributes it to Giotto.

² "Opere," t. ii., p. 53.

sometimes impracticable that they should be in the foreground. In his fresco in the Vatican, of the Coronation of Charlemagne, the Emperor and Pope are among the furthest figures; but the lines formed by the rows of bishops, and the opening in the middle of the picture, with the kneeling guardsman pointing towards the Emperor, at once direct the eye to the principal subject. The same is the case in the fresco of Constantine's donation of Rome to the Pope; where a similar opening, or lane, and the gestures of the assembled persons, point out the chief actors. It were, however, to be wished that the boy and his dog were out of the way.

The end of Art being to strike the imagination, and as that is best done by the representation of some action, it may be inquired whether painting or sculpture is the better fitted to effect this purpose?

Painting, besides the figures engaged in an action, shows us also the scene in which it takes place; sculpture can do this in bas-relief alone, and even there, according to the best canons of art, only in a very slight degree. The addition of the scene undoubtedly gives interest and reality to a subject. Round sculptures standing in a room, or gallery, offer no fitting accompaniments, nay, often some which distract. In painting, however, the scene, whether it be landscape or architecture, should not be such as to divert the attention from the action, especially if the subject be a pathetic one. In ancient pictures the scene is always a very subordinate part—only enough to indicate the *locus in quo*. Such was also the view of the earlier Florentine painters who were very indifferent about landscape, and bestowed their chief attention on the action and figures of a picture. Botticelli is related to have said that if a sponge wetted with various colours were thrown upon a wall, a beautiful landscape might be made out of the

stain which it left.¹ This was an exaggerated view of the matter; but many modern painters often give too much importance to the scene. This is a frequent fault in Paolo Veronese. One is so dazzled by the architecture, generally too by the crowd of persons introduced, who are not much concerned in the action, that one loses sight of the main subject. In his picture of the Magdalene anointing Christ's feet, now in the royal gallery at Turin, the scene is an open street, showing a magnificent Corinthian façade and other buildings. Paolo seems to have done this to show his architectural skill, and he adopts the practice in his profane pictures, as well as in his sacred ones. Other artists have done so by following church legends instead of scripture, with the mistaken view of adding grandeur to scriptural history, as before pointed out. To the instances there given may be added, amongst many others, Ghirlandaio's fresco of the birth of the Madonna, in the choir of S. Maria Novella, at Florence. It seems not to have been inspired by any scriptural ideas, but by the legend of Joachim and Anna, which represented them as rich.² But this is altogether inconsistent with the scriptural history of the Virgin Mary, and her marriage with Joseph the carpenter. In Ghirlandaio's fresco, the birth takes place in a magnificent chamber, the walls of which are elaborately sculptured; over the bed is a frieze of boys, sometimes called Angels, but they have rather an air of the cupids of profane antiquity, for they have fruits, and vases, and are playing on lyres. In the foreground a bevy of ladies richly dressed, some of which are said to be portraits, are come to visit Anna. Mrs. Jameson calls the composition "elegant," and some of the figures

¹ Lionardo da Vinci, "Trattato della Pittura," p. 56 (ap. Jordan, b. iv., s. 205).

² Mrs. Jameson, "Legends of the Madonna," p. 148.

certainly are so; but I agree with Mr. Ruskin that the piece wants truth and nature and animation. I think, however, that he has misconceived the posture of S. Anne.¹ She is sitting up in bed, not to give directions about the child, but, naturally enough, to greet the visitors, towards whom her looks are directed. In Giotto's fresco, which Mr. Ruskin contrasts with Ghirlandaio's, and in which, I must be pardoned for saying, he finds more meaning than is easily discoverable, there is only a single acquaintance who has not yet fully entered the room, and therefore S. Anne is shown reclining. Andrea del Sarto's fresco of the same subject at the church of the Annunziata is much better conceived than Ghirlandaio's. The chamber is not nearly so magnificent, the figures in it are much more graceful as well as natural, and the little boys above are real angels and not sculptured cupids.

In some modern landscapes in which figures are introduced, it is difficult to say whether they or the scenery are the predominating subject. Such is the case with several of Nicholas Poussin's pieces, and also of Zucherelli's. Landscape of itself, though essentially a representation of inanimate nature, is capable of affording much pleasure, as it may embrace a vast extent of country with all those varying effects of mountain and plain, vegetation, sun and shade, sky and water, which strike the imagination so agreeably in the reality. But its principal charm is, perhaps, that it connects us, by association of ideas, with human life; as when it presents temples, houses, ships, and the like; and especially when figures are introduced, though they may be of a character subordinate to the scene, and not engaged in any action of exciting interest. Thus a view of cornfields becomes more interesting when reapers are

¹ "Walks in Florence," "The Golden Gate," p. 29.

at work and preparations making for the harvest. Salvator Rosa's forest scene gains much by the introduction of Mercury and the Woodman. In a view of a storm-tossed or shipwrecked vessel the interest is much augmented by the sight of some of the crew. Even cattle add a charm to the scene, as in the works of Cuyp and Potter, of Ward and Landseer.

The principal cause that makes painting more fit than sculpture to represent an historical action is the different nature of the materials which they employ. In such a subject several figures must be introduced, often a great many. This is easily done in painting by means of perspective and chiaroscuro, which allow the artist to group the figures, to place one before another, and to show some near and some at a distance. This is impossible in round sculpture, which is intended to be immediately present to us, and shows all the figures of the same size. If many such figures were put together they would take so much space as not to be synoptic, and consequently would not tell the story; and any attempt to group them, besides concealing some of the figures, would throw them into confusion. I do not think that any such attempt was ever made in the more classic times of Grecian art, though we know of one in its more degenerate days. Attalus I. of Pergamus, who visited Athens in B.C. 200, presented the Athenians, among other gifts, with a series of sculptures representing the Gigantomachia,¹ the battle with the Amazons, the battle of Marathon, and the overthrow of the Gauls in Mysia, or two mythical and two historical subjects;

¹ Some sculptures in high relief, thought to have belonged to the frieze of an altar of 40 feet in height, representing the Gigantomachia, were found in the Acropolis of Pergamus in 1879. The slabs are 2·30 metres high, and the figures colossal. The gods are full of

fury and the grimmest horror pervades the scene. The altar was probably erected by Attalus I. to commemorate his victories over the Gauls. The sculptures are now in the Berlin Museum.—Julius Schubring, in "*Athenæum*," Jan. 31, 1880.

of which the first three belonged to Athenian tradition and history, whilst the fourth redounded to his own glory. These sculptures were placed at the eastern extremity of the southern or Kimonian wall of the Acropolis, and thus in close proximity to the Parthenon and the noblest works of Pheidias. They stood on a base fifty feet long by sixteen broad, which, therefore, as the figures were only about half the size of life, would have sufficed to contain a large number. Supposing each battle to have occupied a quarter of the base, or an area of more than twelve feet square, the statues in it would have been disposed in groups, as, indeed the subjects required. That representing the Gigantomachia had in it a statue of Dionysus, which was overthrown by a storm, and appropriately fell into the theatre beneath dedicated to that deity. Ten of these statues have recently been recognized dispersed in different galleries. There are four in the Neapolitan Museum, one in the Vatican, one in the Louvre, one in the possession of M. Castellani at Rome, and three in the ducal palace at Venice. These last serve to confirm the assumption that they were dispersed, and some of them brought away, when Morosini captured Athens in 1687. Each of the four groups must have contained a considerable number of figures; for, as Overbeck remarks,¹ since Dionysus was represented fighting among the gods, we must also assume that deities celebrated in that combat, as Zeus, Athena, Heracles, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Hephæstus, were also found there; and as each god must have had an opponent, there could not have been fewer than sixteen figures at least in this group, and perhaps more. The four groups must have contained from sixty to eighty statues. This quantity at once negatives the idea entertained by some writers that they

¹ "Gesch. der Plastik," ii. 177 seq.

might have been in bas-relief; since it would have been impossible to place them in line, with due intervals between the groups and the combatants, in a space of fifty feet. The notion is also controverted by the fact before mentioned of the statue of Dionysus having fallen into the theatre.

All the figures hitherto discovered, which, as Pausanias mentions, are about two cubits or three feet high,¹ represent the dead, the dying, or the vanquished; there is not one of a conqueror. They are well executed, but the style is realistic. Among those that may be pretty certainly recognized are a dead Amazon, whose right breast is bare and wounded; two Gauls, one dead, the other dying; and a dead Persian, identified by his sabre and trousers. The figure of the dying Gaul has a considerable resemblance to the dying Gaul or Gladiator, in the Capitoline Museum. It should be observed, however, that as the figures are for the most part naked, or have but little drapery, it is difficult, and very much a matter of fancy, to assign them to any particular group.

It may be inquired how these groups could have been arranged so as to be synoptic and comprehended at a glance. The different postures of the figures, some erect as victors, some falling, others prostrate, may indeed have contributed in some degree to this end, which may also have been aided by difference of height in the basis, if the battles were represented as taking place on rocky or uneven ground. It was probably also with this view that the statues were made only half the size of life; for to place sixteen full-grown figures together would have required so large a space that they could hardly have been synoptic except at a distance, which would have rendered invisible all the beauties of

¹ ὅσων δέο πηχῶν ἕκαστον, lib. i., c. 25.

the sculpture. The only other instance of such an arrangement that I can recall is that of a Niobë group, mentioned by Pausanias,¹ over the Dionysiac theatre at Athens; who, however, gives no clue to the size of the figures or the manner of their arrangement. It is not, indeed, quite clear from his words whether they were round sculptures or in bas-relief. The former was most probably the case; but even so they may have been arranged, as Stark suggests,² in a line along the wall, in the manner of a bas-relief, or of a pedimental group. There were, no doubt, groups of statues in the vast *peribolus* of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and in the Altis at Olympia, but these do not seem to have been arranged so as to tell any connected story such as that of Niobë. Nor did even those placed on a semi-circular basis in the Altis. In the middle was a group of only three figures, Zeus, with Thetis and Eös supplicating for their children; and round the border five pairs of combatants, each consisting of a Greek and a Trojan.³ These, therefore, were wholly unconnected with the centre group. To a proposed grouping of the Niobë statues in the Uffizi I shall have to advert further on.

With regard to the Attalus statues, not only does the mode in which they must have been grouped appear to me repugnant to classic art, and an invasion of the painter's province, but also that the figures, from their necessary diminution in order to be grouped at all, would have had a very mean effect. Size plays an important part in art, but has very different effects in painting and in sculpture. Nay, it has considerable influence on the impressions produced by living men.

¹ I. 21, 5.

² "Niobe und die Niobiden," S. 114. It has been sometimes thought that the figures were sculptured on the tripod

which Pausanias mentions, but by ἐν ἀντροῖς, he clearly means, I think, within the grotto.

³ Pausan., v., 22, 2; x., 9, 3.

At first sight, small persons are apt to be contemned. A schoolmaster who fills the boys' eyes with a stately presence will more readily have authority over them than a puny man. In real life this first impression may be effaced, and even reversed, by moral qualities; but in statuary the appeal is solely to the eye. The most heroic actions of Lilliputians represented in sculpture would hardly excite admiration. In Swift's amusing tale they excite laughter, though we only hear of their deeds and see not their persons. The statues of Pheidias from the Parthenon would lose the greater part of their sublimity if reduced to half the size of life. It might be difficult to account for this effect of size; but it must, at all events, be recognized as an ultimate fact in our nature. The Greeks were well aware of its influence upon the imagination. When Ares is overthrown by Athena he covers seven *plethra*, or about 700 feet. The helmet of Athena was large enough to protect the soldiers of a hundred cities.¹ But Poetry has here a privilege impossible in Art.

The above remarks apply only to round sculpture. The reason may perhaps be that statues are a perfect reproduction of the human figure; and we are consequently affected by them in the same way as by the living body. Add that they are regarded as actually and immediately present to us. On the other hand, grandeur of effect is enhanced by somewhat supernatural size—I mean not by actual colossi, which, no doubt, were originally intended to be placed at such a distance as should reduce them by perspective to about the natural size. There cannot be a greater mistake in art than to place a colossal statue close to the eye. All such statues should be in the open air, or at all events in a very large area. But when statues are of the largest

¹ "Iliad," v. 744; xxi. 407.

human size, or even a trifle above it, they have more grandeur than when under-sized. It is, I think, chiefly from this cause that the Capitoline Venus has more divine majesty than the Medicean, which is even somewhat below the human stature.

In painting, on the other hand, size may be diminished without much loss of grandeur. Raphael's little picture of Ezekiel's Vision in the Pitti Palace, painted in the maturity of his genius, is one of his grandest and, perhaps, the happiest attempt to portray the Almighty. Indeed, colossal size in painting has, it seems to me, a rather disagreeable effect; as, for instance, in Fra Bartolommeo's noble figure of S. Mark in the same palace. This also may be partly owing to its being placed in a gallery, and it would doubtless have looked better when seen at a greater distance in its original position over the entrance to the choir in S. Mark's Church. The effect of many works of art has been marred through their having been transferred to galleries. According, however, to Vasari, Fra Bartolommeo's S. Mark owed not its birth to an inspiration of genius, but to a motive of self-love. He had been taunted with inability to paint on a grand scale, and produced this picture by way of confuting his detractors.

It might be difficult to account for the different impressions made by size in painting and in sculpture. The effect of perspective may, perhaps, be the chief cause. A picture conveys an idea of distance; and as in nature figures are diminished by remoteness, so we are prepared for the same effect in a painting. Although at a distance, they may be employed in some great action, and we are not so much concerned about their size. But in round sculpture the idea of distance and perspective does not occur. There is no scene; the

figures stand in the same open space with ourselves, and seem to be present to us. Hence they should neither be too large nor too small. Statuettes or miniature copies may, however, have a pleasing effect as ornaments for rooms, without aspiring to grandeur.

It is difficult to convey the idea of relative size in statuary. Critics have observed that in statues of Dionysus accompanied by his Panther, the animal is made proportionately small. In all probability, this was done to magnify the god by the comparison; but the result is to make the animal contemptible, so that some critics have called it a lynx. A recent German writer on Art thinks that Greek sculptors sometimes took the liberty of reducing the size of animals for the sake of convenience, and, in the case in question, in order that Dionysus might have standing room. That such liberties were sometimes taken is unquestionable. The frieze of the Parthenon affords an example, where the horses are small in comparison with the men. This anomaly has been defended on the ground that the Greek horses were peculiarly small; but this seems hardly to have been the case. In the fine sculpture on the tomb of Dexileos, just outside the ancient Dipylum at Athens, and near the modern church of *Agia Triada*—a monument which must have been erected about the time of Pheidias, and whose execution is worthy of that best period of Attic art—the horse is in just proportion to its rider.¹ There was here no necessity for reducing its size; but in a crowded composition like the Panathenaic procession, if the horses had been represented of their natural size, they would have predominated, and the men would have appeared comparatively insignificant. Again, Pheidias himself, in the western pediment of the Parthenon, as shown in Carrey's drawing, made

¹ See cut in Dyer's "Athens," p. 497.

the horses in Nikē's chariot larger than life, in comparison with most of the other figures, though they were gods; the only reason for which seems to have been that they were in the middle and most lofty part of the pediment, which it was necessary to fill. In like manner Raphael has submitted to the necessities of art, though in painting they are more easily avoided or overcome than in statuary; and in the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* has made the boat ridiculously small in comparison with the men on board. He must either have done that, or made the boat so large as to occupy the greater part of the picture, thus obscuring the men, and destroying all the interest of the piece. There may remain the question whether subjects which compel such deviations from nature and propriety should be chosen. It is probable that Pheidias, if not absolutely directed to represent the Panathenaic procession, might in a manner have felt himself compelled to adopt the subject from its intimate connection with the work in hand, and from its fitness for the length of frieze which it was necessary to fill; and, at all events, we may congratulate ourselves that no minor and, perhaps, trivial scruples prevented the execution of the finest frieze in the world.

A story requiring only a few figures may, perhaps, be represented with more effect in statuary than in painting. It may be doubted whether any picture could show the *Laocoon* group with the striking and intense expression of the marble. Pliny gives it the preference over all paintings as well as sculptures.¹ The same is the case, in a minor degree, with the group of the *Barbarian and his Wife*, in the *Villa Ludovisi*, at Rome. These gain in effect, first, from a statue being nearer to life than a painting; and, secondly, from being presented without other figures. Had this last group formed part

¹ "N. H.," xxxvi., 4, 11.

of a larger one, as some writers have thought it did, it would attract comparatively little attention. I do not mean to affirm that sculpture is in general better adapted than painting for pathetic subjects, but only that, in some instances, it is capable of presenting such subjects in a more vivid and striking manner. And for a picture to attain the height of pathos, it must conform in some degree to the sister art, and show only a few figures. When Sterne depicted the wretchedness of slavery, he took a single captive. Such pictures as the Massacre of the Innocents are not truly pathetic. Indiscriminate slaughter is only revolting. But we may pick out from such pictures certain groups of maddened or wo-begone mothers that are truly pathetic.

A single statue may recall a whole story. Such is the beautiful statue of Diana discovering Endymion in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. Paris, with Phrygian cap and the apple in his hand, in the Galleria delle Statue of the same collection, is another instance. But such statues make, perhaps, too much demand on the spectator's fancy and ingenuity, and do not tell the story so well as a group would have done.

Compositions in which grandeur rather than pathos prevails, and where a considerable number of figures are required, are infinitely more suited for painting than for sculpture. This follows in round sculpture from the reasons already given. But such subjects may be shown with some approach to painting in architectural sculpture—that is, in reliefs, or in statuary in pediments, which partakes in a great degree the nature of relief. The composition of a pediment being necessarily viewed from a distance, is at once synoptical, and thus shares in some degree the advantage of a picture. The pyramidal form of the pediment, again, enables the sculptor to indicate the principal group by placing it in

the centre, and the figures in an erect posture, whilst the subordinate characters are sitting, or reclining, at the sides. In this way some of the difficulties which attend the representation of a large subject in stone are partially overcome; but, at the same time, the necessity for placing all the figures on a line, and in a series continually decreasing in height, not only gives an unnatural air of formality and constraint, but also prevents the subordinate and remoter figures from displaying any interest in the action. I will, however, say no more at present on this subject, as there will be occasion to return to it. On the whole, it seems to me that, as an imitative art, the preference must be given to painting over sculpture, from its greater fitness to render a story. And thus we see that ancient writers, when considering the analogy between Poetry and Art, advert not to sculpture, but only to painting.¹ Nor in a consideration of the comparative advantages of painting and sculpture must the much greater labour and expense required by the latter art be left wholly out of the question.

Besides beauty, which is essential to all art, expression is another necessary quality when any story is represented, especially if it be of a pathetic nature. These two qualities have been sometimes regarded as repugnant and as holding a divided empire; and it has been thought that whilst beauty is the prevalent and almost exclusive characteristic of ancient art, in that of the moderns it yields the first place, and is indeed sometimes quite sacrificed to expression. Lessing's "Laokoon" turns mainly on this subject, and the celebrated group from which his book is named served to illustrate his views. Winckelmann had previously appealed to the same group in support of another theory—that noble simplicity and quiet grandeur, a great and self-possessed

¹ Aristotle, "Poet.," c. 2; Horace, "Ars Poet. init.," &c.

soul, are characteristic of the masterpieces of Greek art, and that these qualities are expressed in Laocoon's whole figure. Notwithstanding the intolerable agony which shows itself in all the muscles and nerves of his body, neither the posture nor the face is outrageously distorted. We see in the whole figure moral grandeur struggling with physical pain. Laocoon utters no horrible cry, as in Virgil's description; the mouth, only partially opened, would not permit it; all that escapes him is at most an anxious, agonizing sigh. He bears up against his sufferings like the Philoctetes of Sophocles.

In animadverting on this theory, Lessing has no difficulty in showing that the reference to Philoctetes is an unfortunate one, and not only that that hero vociferated most lustily, but also that the Greek heroes in general, and even their gods, refrained not from expressing their emotions by loud wails, by tears, by abuse and scolding.¹ Both critics, however, are at one in thinking that Laocoon's face expresses pain only in a modified degree, but they differ as to the cause of this modification. Lessing, after showing by examples that Winckelmann's theory of moral grandeur is not necessarily the true one, proceeds to expound his own: that *Beauty is the supreme law of ancient art, and all other considerations are made subordinate to it*. Hence since certain passions, as rage, despair, bodily pain, and the like, produce the ugliest grimaces and postures, ancient art either avoided them, or represented them so modified as not to be incompatible with some degree of beauty. This last was the method adopted by the sculptors of the Laocoon. They softened a shriek into a sigh, not because a shriek according to ancient views would have been incompatible with greatness of soul, but because it would have produced a hideous contortion. Imagine Laocoon shriek-

¹ See Sections I. and II.

ing with widely opened mouth, and we should avert our eyes from so ugly and horrible a spectacle. Such a mouth must be represented in sculpture by a hole, in painting by a blotch, both of which produce the most disagreeable effect possible. Laocoon's form, as rendered by the sculptors, inspires compassion by combining beauty with pain. If it showed pain alone, so far from exciting sympathy, it would only cause disgust. This view is enforced in the next section by the consideration that as art can show only one moment, which remains for ever unchangeable, it should not represent a merely transitory emotion—a point which I have before examined.

With regard to Lessing's theory of beauty, it might be questioned whether that quality, or what degree of it, is indispensably necessary to excite compassion; though it must be allowed that it has a strange fascination even in our abstract ideas. Virtue itself, it is said, is more pleasing in a handsome than in an ugly form, "*gratior et veniens in pulchro corpore virtus.*" But, waiving this point, it must be allowed that Lessing's view derives considerable plausibility from the nature of the remains of Greek sculpture which we possess, or rather of the copies from it. For what are the ancient statues which fill our galleries? For the most part those of gods and demigods, or of heroes not engaged in any exciting action requiring expression. When objects of worship, it would have derogated from the divine majesty of the gods to betray any emotion; and the same is the case with solitary statues of heroes. Hence Reynolds was led to observe that many thousand antique statues border on inanimate insipidity;¹ which, with regard, at least, to the number, is doubtless an exaggeration. Perhaps we may also partly explain the absence

¹ "Discourse," vii.

of expression from early Greek sculpture by the fact that its first and principal productions were statues of the gods, which became models for artists. In early art, this passionless face was transferred to men, even when engaged in fight, or slaughtered and sinking, as before adverted to in the *Æginetan* sculptures.¹

From Lessing's observations it would appear that the figure of *Laocoon*, as it stands, may be regarded as beautiful; for he argues that its beauty would be spoiled if he were represented bawling and shrieking with open mouth, thus showing a disagreeable hole in the marble. But this, I think, would not much affect the beauty of his countenance. An open mouth is not necessarily ugly. There is in the *Uffizi* a bust of the dying *Alexander* in which the mouth is open; but the head is one of remarkable beauty, because the other features are calm and composed, and he appears to be expiring without any extreme physical pain. Such suffering produces contortions more frightful than any occasioned by the passions. That bodily agony is the predominant expression of the *Laocoon* is pretty generally admitted; but I can hardly reconcile this with Lessing's view that his beauty is preserved. On the contrary, it seems to me to be an instance that in ancient art beauty was sometimes sacrificed to expression, or rather truth to nature. It must, indeed, be allowed that *Laocoon's* form is still noble; but when thus contorted and writhing, it can hardly be called beautiful.

But I must here confess myself unable clearly to understand the view taken both by *Winckelmann* and *Lessing* of *Laocoon's* condition. The former says: "The pain discovers itself in every muscle and sinew of his body, and the beholder, whilst looking at the agonized contraction of the abdomen, without view-

¹ Above, p. 45.

ing the face and the other parts, believes that he almost feels the pain himself. This pain expresses itself, however, without any violence, both in the features and in the whole posture.”¹ And this view is endorsed by Lessing; both critics, as before observed, confining their comments to the mouth.

A pain that discovers itself in every muscle and sinew of the body, and to such a degree that the spectator might fancy he feels it himself, cannot but be expressed with violence or, in other words, with a force that displays the extremity of suffering. If this were not so, if the pain was a modified and mitigated one, how could we sympathize with it? For in that case it would hardly have been intolerable. No unprejudiced spectator can, I think, look at the statue without feeling that the face, as well as the whole body, shows the extremity of bodily torture. And as such pain produces more frightful contortions than any mere mental passions, what becomes of Lessing’s argument?

I shall not, in these general remarks upon expression, enter into the real cause and nature of that of Laocoon, as I shall return to the subject when considering the group in the next Section. I will here only remark that if the sculptors modified Laocoon’s traits merely to preserve his beauty, they would have committed a great fault—they would have given him a *false* expression. This remark does not so much apply to Winckelmann’s theory. It is certainly possible that a man of strong mind and will might exercise some control over his features even when in excruciating pain; but I doubt whether he would be able at the same time to do the like with his body, as Winckelmann says that he does.

¹ Beasley’s translation (Lessing’s “Prose Works,” p. 7, Bell and Sons, 1879). Perhaps the word *Wuth* more literally signifies *rage* or *fury* than *vio-*

lence; but there is no reason why Laocoon should have been affected by those passions: he is only displaying the most violent effects of *physical* pain.

I will only further observe on this subject at present that both Winckelmann and Lessing appear to me to have erred in taking the Laocoon group as a criterion by which to judge of Greek sculpture in general. It was, as will be shown further on, and as Lessing himself ultimately recognized, a late production, and cannot therefore be regarded as a canon for the earlier Greek schools. At the same time I am of opinion that even the first, or Pheidian school, as it is sometimes called, was not so averse from expression as some writers have thought. The wounded Amazon of Pheidias himself displayed suffering, and his figure of Poseidon in the western pediment of the Parthenon, to judge from Carrey's drawing, showed all the fury of disappointment and defeat. Pythagoras of Rhegium, who was contemporary with Pheidias, made a statue of a lamed man, probably Philoctetes, which caused even the spectators to feel the smart.¹ From the same passage we learn that Praxiteles, whose works were so remarkable for beauty, made a statue of a matron weeping. Lessing observes, in conformity with his remarks on the Laocoon, that the Greek artists mitigated anger into earnestness. With the poet, it was the wrathful Jupiter who hurled the thunderbolt, but with the artist only the earnest one.² How does this agree with Pausanias' description of the statue at Olympia of Zeus "*Ορκιος*, or the avenger of perjury?"³ It was eminently calculated to strike with terror. Each hand held a thunderbolt. The face is not described; but to assume that its expression corresponded not with the action, would not only be a libel on Greek art, but would also have deprived the statue of all the terror it inspired. We may infer from Pausanias that there were many more statues of Zeus in a like angry mood,

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxiv., 19, 4, 10. ² "Laocoon," § 2. ³ Lib. v., c. 24, 2.

though none so terrible as this. It is nothing to the purpose to refer, as Mr. Ruskin does, to the Æginetan sculptures in proof of his assertion, which agrees with Lessing's view, that a Greek never expresses momentary passion.¹ I have already endeavoured to show why those early sculptures were deficient in expression, or rather wore a wrong one. The instances adduced, and many more might be found, suffice to show that Lessing's view cannot be established as a universal canon. It is also refuted by a passage in Xenophon's "Memorabilia."² Cleiton was remarkable for the beauty of his statues, but they wanted expression. Socrates, in a conversation with him in his usual method, leads him to acknowledge that, besides beauty, there must not only be truth to nature in the body and limbs, but also that the passions of the soul should be shown in the face; that combatants should be represented with threatening looks—the reverse of those at Ægina—and that the countenances of victors should be lighted up with joy. Cleiton is evidently here selected as offending against the general practice; for Socrates could hardly have been introducing, out of his own head, a new and unexampled rule. In that case also his remarks would have been extended to sculptors in general, and not confined to a particular one.

The records which we have of Greek painting, as well as some still existing examples, show that expression, as might be expected, was conveyed in that art also. Polygnotus, as before observed, was famous for it, and some examples have been given in his picture of the capture of Troy. Aristophon, Polygnotus' brother, also painted tragic subjects, as Ancæus and Astypalë wounded by a boar, Philoctetes and Jocastë dying,³ &c. But it is

¹ "Aratra Pentelici," p. 187.

² Lib. iii., c. 10, 6 *seq.*

³ Plin., "N. H.," xxxv., 40, 32; Plutarch, "Quæst. Conviv.," v., 1, 2.

needless to multiply examples, especially as I shall have to return to this subject, and to examine instances.

I will not, however, deny that expression was on the whole more common, and perhaps more marked, in the later than in the earlier works of Greek art. The reasons for it will be examined in a subsequent section. All that I contend for is, that neither the Greek schools, nor their peculiar characteristics, can be set apart and entirely isolated by those hard and fast lines which it is often usual to draw. Reasons have been already assigned why the earlier Greek sculptures, or rather the remains of them which we possess, appear to be deficient in expression. It may also be allowed that that quality prevails more generally in modern than in ancient art. One great cause of this was doubtless the superior naturalness and simplicity, the greater freedom from exciting passions in earlier ages, than in the complicity and conflicting interests of more modern life. Another cause has been already adverted to in the difference of religion: the greater cheerfulness of paganism, and the horrible scenes which were often forced upon the Christian artist. Of such subjects I speak, of course, only in their relation to art.

A visitor wandering among the crowd of statues which people the halls of the Vatican, somewhat satiated, perhaps, with a monotony of beauty, may pause with a sense of relief before the pathetic group of Laocoon and his sons. If in a reflecting mood, he may be inclined to inquire which has given him most pleasure—the various exquisite forms of male and female beauty, without much expression of feeling, or a statue in which this last feature is predominant. He is thus brought face to face with a crucial question in art—the relative claims of beauty and expression. It must, of

course, be allowed that the union of both, so far as it may be possible, should be the artist's aim; but if they are incompatible, and to a certain extent they undoubtedly are so, whether expression should be sacrificed to beauty, or beauty to expression?

This is a question which, like Taste, must in some measure be left to the idiosyncrasy of the spectator. Some minds may revel by preference in the charms of beauty, whilst others may be more delighted with the excitement of action and the display of various passions. Neither of these tastes, if good in its kind, is to be condemned, nor does the one necessarily compel a complete exclusion of the other. Yet it must be allowed, I think, that one must necessarily be superior; and perhaps this question may be decided by an appeal to the objects and aims of art.

If it be the end of art, as it is of poetry, to strike the imagination, then it seems to me that it will be better accomplished by expression than by beauty. Beauty lulls us into tranquil and pleasurable contemplation; expression, recalling the subject from which it springs, stirs the mind with all the emotions which accompany it. Beauty can tell no story; the sentiment of it is merely sensual; whilst expression, the outward token of the affections and passions of the soul, plunges us at once into the world of moral action, and fills us with the hopes and fears, the sympathy or the aversion which all such action occasions. It is peculiarly in this sense, as before observed, that art resembles poetry, whilst with regard to mere visible beauty, they have little analogy, since poetry is ill fitted to describe it.

Assuming, then, that expression should be the highest aim of art, it may be inquired whether sculpture or painting be the better fitted to convey it?

I have observed that subjects requiring only a few

figures, and especially where the chief motive is physical pain, may be more strikingly rendered by sculpture than by painting. Besides the Laocoon, such figures as the dying Gaul or Gladiator, Ajax with the corpse of Patroclus (or Achilles), of which there are several copies, the Barbarian slaying his wife and himself, in the Villa Ludovisi, and the like, could not perhaps be rendered with equal force in painting. But where mental rather than bodily sufferings or passions are the motive, painting, I think, must have the preference. Perhaps the finest ancient statue we possess, in which mental agony is delineated, and physical pain is entirely absent, is that of Niobë beholding the death of her children, of which there is a copy in the Uffizi. The expression of motherly grief and despair, yet still tempered with majesty, is wonderfully fine, but it might be rendered, perhaps, with still greater force in a painting. In mental emotion the face is the chief seat of expression, and the only part of the body which betrays it by change of colour as well as by the eyes. Statuary, being colourless, is here deficient. Theon painted a remarkable picture of a Hoplite suddenly called to arms by an incursion of the enemy. It was a single figure, and may therefore be justly compared with a statue. In the showing of it, Theon resorted to a little piece of *charlatanerie*. A trumpeter sounded the charge, the curtain was suddenly drawn, and the warrior appeared, armed *cap-a-pied*, in the act of falling upon the foe. But the most remarkable feature, and that which must have struck the spectator with peculiar dread, was the flashing fury of the eyes.¹ This expression it would have been impossible for the sculptor to rival. Guercino's beautiful picture of Abraham dismissing Hagar, in the Brera Gallery, shows her

¹ γοργὸν μὲν αὐτῇ βλέπουσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, Ælian, "Var. Hist.," ii. 44.

grief and surprise by the flushed face as well as by the features. Of this marble would be incapable.

Painting and sculpture have in some respects considerable analogy with architecture, and a treatise on them which should be wholly silent on what has been called a sister art, might perhaps by some be deemed incomplete. But architecture differs in an essential, and indeed fundamental, point from the plastic arts. It is not imitative like them, but in its beginning entirely original, for it has no prototype in nature. The same qualities, however, which make a good artist, are in some degree requisite for an architect, and thus we find that all the three arts have often, and especially in the earlier times, been combined in one person. Pheidias and other Greeks were at once painters, sculptors, and architects, and we have like instances in modern times in Giotto, Michelangelo, Raphael, and others. But the absence of imitation at once places architecture in quite a different category from the plastic arts. As it can tell no story, it is unable to awaken sympathies and to stir the passions. Any moral effects which it may produce are solely the result of the association of ideas, and are for the most part connected only with buildings of an ancient date, around which glorious or sanctifying traditions have accumulated. Canterbury Cathedral, or that of S. Denis, derive their moral impressions from the scenes which have passed in them and from the memories of the famous personages interred within their walls. Such impressions are the result of memory and reflection, and move us not, like those of painting and sculpture, with immediate sympathy or sudden passion. The older such buildings are, and the more numerous and more grand the memories connected with them, the greater is their effect upon the imagination. Everybody, I fancy, will be struck with a more impressive

awe and veneration on entering Westminster Abbey than S. Paul's Cathedral; the effect of which last, as comparatively recent, and containing not the ashes of so many illustrious dead, depends more exclusively on the building alone.

Another circumstance which essentially distinguishes architecture from the plastic arts is, that its principal aim is utility, whilst sculpture and painting seek only to please the fancy or rouse the imagination. To succeed in these objects, though only calculated for pleasure and entertainment, demands genius of a much higher order than is necessary for architecture. When Benvenuto Cellini valued his Perseus at 10,000 *scudi*, the Duke of Florence observed that palaces and even cities might be built for that sum. "Your Excellency," replied Cellini, "will find numberless men to build your cities and palaces, but perhaps not another in the world to make a statue like this."¹

Nothing can more strongly illustrate the innate love of beauty in the human mind than the almost universal desire to add some of its charms to what is chiefly designed to be useful. A meeting-house, or a barn, may serve all the purposes of a congregation; but the man of taste, nay, we may perhaps say the greater part of mankind, will prefer for their devotions a fine architectural building. This tendency is so well known that the sacerdotal order has in all ages sought to attract worshippers by the beauty of their temples and the pomp and splendour of religious service. Ancient temples still afford the finest examples of architecture, which at Athens must have been all the more striking from their contrast with the general meanness of private

¹ "Come sua Eccellenza troverebbe infiniti uomini che gli sapreno fare delle città e dei palazzi, ma che dei Persei ei

non troverebbe forse uomo al mondo che gnele sapesse fare un tale."—"Vita," lib. ii., c. 95.

houses. The same was the case in the Middle Ages, when the Church found no means better to confirm and extend its empire over the minds of men than by dazzling the imagination with magnificent cathedrals. The originality of architecture to which I have alluded permitted a divergence from ancient patterns which would not have been practicable in sculpture and painting. The northern tribes which overran the Roman Empire, impressed the sacred buildings they erected there with their own character. Gothic paganism was of a gloomy nature, the very opposite of Grecian and Roman. It adored in the shade of groves and woods an invisible deity, whom it was forbidden to represent in human form, but to which human victims were sometimes sacrificed.¹ When these tribes renounced the religion of their fathers for Christianity, they found in it something similar; a God visible only to the mental eye, and the commemoration at least of a sacrifice of blood. Although their descendants, some centuries later, had of course no actual experience of the religion of their ancestors, they inherited the gloomy feelings it had engendered, and built accordingly. The vaulted roof, the long-drawn aisles, the frequent pillars, the subdued and flickering light penetrating feebly and uncertainly through many-tinted windows, were calculated to inspire the same mysterious awe as the umbrageous avenues and gloomy recesses of the forest. A perfect contrast to pagan rites! which attracted by a precisely opposite method. The deity was held to be present and visible in an image which became a miracle of beauty; the simple and elegant temple was the actual abode of the god, and not a meeting-place for his worshippers, who assembled round his altar in the open air and cheerful light of day. Thus, when art in either age

¹ Tacitus, "Germania," ix.

was but in its infancy, its future character was already determined by the nature of the religion which gave it birth in both.

The combination of beauty with utility observable in architecture, probably gave rise to some of the ideas before adverted to about the qualities which constitute beauty; as that it consists in order, regularity, uniformity, and the like, and in the proper adaptation of an object to its purpose. At all events, if such was not their origin, it is in architecture that they will find their best, and perhaps only, exemplification. In a building, utility is the essential quality, and beauty an accident which is capable of being dispensed with. A building which answers not its purpose, or is constructed and ornamented in a fashion foreign to its end, is universally condemned, however beautiful in themselves may be the architecture and the ornaments. Yet this commonplace rule is often violated even by eminent architects. Bacon has observed that the Vatican, the Escorial, and other huge buildings in Europe have scarcely a fair room in them.¹ Examples might be found without going out of London. The rule that the style of a building should be conformable to its destination is also frequently transgressed. Palladio's celebrated Villa della Rotonda, near Vicenza, is a notable example. It has more the appearance of a heathen temple than of a villa. Each of its four Ionic *façades* has a pediment supported on columns. Its chief beauty is said to be the interior *rotonda* from which it takes its name. The building is deserted and dilapidated, and it is difficult to gain admission; but however beautiful that feature may be, it can hardly be better adapted than the exterior to a rural retreat.

It seems to be from considerations of utility that the

¹ Essay xlvii.

square, or angular, form, which is repugnant to us in painting and statuary, has not the same effect in architecture. It there administers both to convenience and strength. The idea of boundary becomes agreeable in buildings, as securing a refuge and shutting us out from the infinite extension of space. The pyramid is universally recognized as the emblem of stability, and hence perhaps the pleasure which its lines afford in architecture. It is doubtless on this principle of solidity and strength that the old Grecian Doric excites our admiration, as in that beautiful example of it, the so-called Temple of Neptune, at Pæstum. Yet even in architecture the round form is preferable, when the square is no longer necessary. Round columns are more beautiful than square ones, and if Trajan's pillar were square, we should turn from it with disgust. We sometimes see a hybrid and frightful mixture of both forms in a column. The aisles of a cathedral would be little admired if the intervals between the columns were square instead of arched. All this shows that the sense of beauty is unconnected with the perception of utility, except where the latter is predominant and imperative, and where the neglect of it would mar all the pleasure arising from more graceful forms. And, after all, fitness and adaptation to purpose occasion only satisfaction, and not the higher pleasure arising from beauty.

Round buildings are sometimes necessary, as in the case of theatres and amphitheatres. The effect of the interior is grand and imposing. The whole expanse strikes the eye at a glance, and conveys at once the idea of symmetry and vastness. The interior of the Colosseum fills the mind with an admiration bordering upon awe. The same is the effect in a slighter degree of Agrippa's Pantheon; where, however, if the impression of grandeur is somewhat less, it is perhaps balanced by

a more than proportionate sense of beauty. This interior has always struck me as one of the finest I have seen, though one of the simplest. The lifting of such a structure into the air, as in the domes of Sta. Maria del Fiore at Florence, S. Peter's at Rome, and other cathedrals, though it enhances the beauty of such buildings, somewhat detracts from it, I think, as a substantive and independent structure. The exterior of a circular building does not equally recommend itself. Only half of it can be seen, and a square one may be made equally synoptical by the way in which the Greeks contrived the approaches to their temples. The entrance to the *τέμενος*, or sacred enclosure, faced one of the angles of the building, thus showing at a view one side and one front, or half the structure; and a round building can do no more. Such was the arrangement at the Parthenon and the temple of Zeus Olympius at Athens. But I have said enough on a subject that does not strictly belong to my plan.

SECTION III.

ON ROUND SCULPTURE OR STATUARY.

IN the hands of what has been called the second Attic school—that is, of Scopas, Praxiteles, and their contemporaries—sculpture attained to the perfection of beauty, and the statues of the gods finally assumed those forms which, with trifling alterations, became the models of succeeding generations. The reasons for this were that the beauty now given to them could not be surpassed, and that sacerdotalism, always averse from change, required them to be preserved in the traditionary manner. The crowd of worshippers, too, having once associated certain forms with their ideas of particular gods, would be naturally disinclined, or rather, perhaps, unable, to dismiss and change them. These remarks apply, of course, to leading characteristics, and, as before intimated, do not exclude some slight changes consonant with the style of particular artists, or the business in which a god was supposed to be engaged. For not only were the Pagan deities often busied with adventures among themselves, or with mortals, but as many of them combined in themselves various functions, their presentment would naturally vary in accordance with that in which they were employed. Thus Hermes, as the messenger of Zeus, has different characteristics from those which show him as the conductor of departed souls, or presiding over the palæstra or the market. Athena, as the goddess of wisdom, has a different aspect from that which she wears as the goddess of

war; Apollo, the averter of evil, assumes another air when he appears as the god of song and leader of the Muses; Aphroditë, the goddess of beauty, is more lovely and seductive when seen only as its personification than when another character is added, as that of Venus Victrix or Genitrix; and so of the rest. Yet in all these cases certain general features are preserved. Hermes is always proper for agility and exertion; Apollo always young and graceful; Athena has a constantly serious beauty; and Aphroditë is ever charming, even in her severer and more matronly form. Such variety is less observable in Zeus and Hera, the king and queen of the gods, as they exercise no subordinate functions, which would derogate from their majesty; perhaps, also, in other gods, who, like them, are personifications of the elements of nature, as Poseidon and Hephæstus.

Majesty and grandeur, mixed with thoughtfulness, characterized Zeus, the ruler of the universe. Sceptred and enthroned, his symbols are the thunderbolt and the eagle. Unfortunately, we have no image of this deity from the hand of Pheidias, who was best fitted to produce one. Those which we possess, however, were probably modelled after an original by him, though they have doubtless lost something of their grandeur in the process. The colossal bust, called the Otricoli Zeus, from the place of its discovery, now in the Vatican, is the best that is extant. It shows mature age, but none of that senility with which Jehovah is commonly represented in Christian art. That trait was doubtless given to Him to inspire the veneration which is due to old age; yet it is hardly suitable to a Being who has neither beginning nor end, and who speaks of Himself, even in regard to the past, in the present tense, I AM. No other image, however, can be suggested as more suitable—a circumstance which only shows the futility of

all attempts to represent a Deity whom no man has ever seen at any time. Zeus, on the other hand, has a genesis, and from the nature of polytheism, which brought the gods so much nearer to the level of humanity, may without impropriety admit of representation. The Otricoli head is magnificent. The countenance, at once majestic and benevolent, is, as it were, enframed by that arrangement of the hair which marked Zeus and his offspring. Rising in the middle of the forehead, it flows down in ample curls on each side of the face, and the framing is completed by a voluminous beard. But, though we might willingly recognize in this bust an exquisite *beau idéal* of an earthly sovereign, solicitous at once for the welfare of his subjects and the safety of his throne, there is a somewhat pinched and anxious thoughtfulness in the expression which hardly suits a Being conscious of supreme wisdom and absolute power, whose nod shook Olympus, and whose will was signified and enforced by the mere motion of his brows. It may, therefore, afford an illustration of what has been before observed, that the true sublime is beyond the reach of art. Burckhardt, or rather his editor, Van Zahn, has remarked that, even judging from poor imitations on coins, the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias was simpler and more majestic than later copies.¹ The bust in question has been sometimes considered as a modification by Lysippus, or an artist of his school, of a grander Pheidian head. But it is still much superior to the Della Valle Zeus in the Capitoline Museum, the brow of which is not so grand and thoughtful, whilst the mouth has even a slight expression of weakness.

Whole-length statues of Zeus or Jupiter are rare. There is one in the Vatican representing him enthroned, the upper part of his body undraped, a thunderbolt in

¹ "Cicerone," s. 417 (ii^{te} Ausgabe).

his right hand, a sceptre in his left, under his throne an eagle. The star-bespangled globe at his feet recalls Milton's lines:—

“ Before the starry threshold of Jove's court
My dwelling is.”

But the work has been badly restored, and especially the eagle. Perhaps the finest extant statue of Zeus is that in the Louvre, called *Zeus vainqueur des géants* (No. 31), but it is much damaged. He may be imagined erect in his quadriga, the motion of which is indicated by the hair driven backwards by the wind. The face is at once severe and dignified; the uplifted right arm appears to have been employed in launching thunderbolts at the Titans. Some celebrated Greek work was probably its model, from which also may have been taken the celebrated engraved gem by Athenion. The Louvre statue is of Carrara marble, and was therefore probably executed in Italy.

Hera, or Juno, the sister and spouse of Zeus, and a thorn in his side, is not a very interesting deity, and but a feeble image of almighty power. Subject to the will of Zeus, who, indeed, sometimes beats her,¹ she has not the absolute wisdom and unshakeable resolve which characterize her lord, whilst she is far outshone by other goddesses with regard to beauty. Homer finds nothing to distinguish her but her white arms and oxen-like eyes (λευκώλενος, βόωπις). This last epithet might convey a poor and even repulsive image to a northern mind; and some translators have altered it—Pope rendering βόωπις paraphrastically by *large, majestic, radiant*, &c., whilst Lord Derby gives a near equivalent in *stag-eyed*. But those who have seen the large, lustrous, and deer-like eyes of the cattle of Southern Europe will be able to appreciate Homer's epithet. The colossal head

¹ “ Iliad,” i. 588.

of Hera, or Juno, in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome, tempering majesty with an amiable smile, shows, perhaps, the queen of the gods to best advantage. Another bust in the Neapolitan Museum, Hall of Tiberius, is of a more ancient and severer type, and shows the goddess in her pitiless mood. It is thought to be after an original by Polycleitus. Hera's full-length form has a matronly majesty answering to these heads, and is well represented in some extant statues. The best is the colossal one in the Rotonda of the Vatican, repeated in smaller proportions in the Neapolitan and other galleries.

Earth-shaking Poseidon, or Neptune, god of the sea and waters in general, and brother of Zeus, to whom he bears much resemblance, is peculiarly characterized by breadth of chest, typical of the vastness of Ocean. His chariot was drawn by Hippo-campi, or sea-horses; his emblem was the trident. Homer, to convey a high idea of Agamemnon's person, gives him a head and eyes like Zeus, a waist like Ares, and a chest like Poseidon.¹ Grandeur and majesty admit not of many types; a perfect *beau idéal* of them cannot be deviated from without losing some of its characteristics. Hence deities which share the power of Zeus, as Poseidon and Hades, or Pluto, another brother, god of the nether world, are scarcely to be distinguished from him, except by their attributes. Wheler, who saw the western pediment of the Parthenon when it was still pretty perfect, mistook Poseidon for Zeus. The chief difference between the brothers seems to have been that Poseidon's features, as becomed his variable and often turbulent nature, were less tranquil and composed than those of Zeus. The difference is well seen by comparing the head of Poseidon in the Vatican (Museo Chiaramonti), with its damp and dishevelled locks, with that of Zeus before described.

¹ "Iliad," ii., 478.

Whole-length statues of Poseidon are rare, and I cannot instance any ancient one of superior excellence. Giovanni da Bologna has supplied a good substitute in his statue at the fountain in the market-place of that city.

Other water gods partake the traits of Poseidon. They are generally represented of colossal size and reclining in majestic calmness; the curls of the hair and beard are straight and lank with moisture; in the beard is sometimes a little waterfall, with small fishes disporting in it. Types of such deities are the Nile in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, the Marforio in the court of the Capitoline Museum, the Tiber in the Louvre, and the bust of Oceanus in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican.

Hades, or Pluto, though his features closely resemble those of Zeus, has a melancholy expression befitting his functions. Representations of him are mostly of a late period and taken from the Egyptian Serapis, with the *modius*, or bushel-measure, on his head. There is a fine bust in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican.

Asclepios, or Æsculapius, god of the healing art, also bears some resemblance to Zeus, but may be distinguished from him by his special attribute, the serpent-twined club on which he leans. The best statues of him are one in the third corridor of the Uffizi at Florence, and another very similar one in the Neapolitan Museum. That in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican is thought to be a portrait of Antonius Musa, or some other eminent physician of the Augustan epoch. It has certainly but little ideal or divine majesty, and we miss especially the hair and beard of Zeus.

Mis-shapen Hephæstus, or Vulcan, the only child of Zeus in wedlock, seems to have been but rarely modelled in ancient times. His lameness must have hindered him from being a favourite subject for the chisel. Alcamenes, in a statue which he made of the god,

contrived to conceal that defect, and even to give it a not ungraceful air, by planting both feet on the ground and covering them with drapery.¹ I do not recollect seeing any statue of this deity.

Ares, or Mars, the god of war, had more the type of a mere athletic combatant than of the skilful commander who thoughtfully controls the issues of the heady fight. That, probably, was a type which commended itself from the nature of ancient warfare, when so much depended on the prowess of individual combatants. Ares was not so much worshipped by the Greeks as by the Romans, and consequently few statues of him are known. Alcamenes made one for his temple at Athens.² Two of colossal size were made during the second Attic school; one a seated statue by Scopas, in Pliny's time at Rome; the other, either by Leochares or Timotheus, was in the citadel of Halicarnassus.³ Of this truculent deity there is probably no authentic Greek statue, or copy, extant. The best reputed statue of him is that in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome; but many connoisseurs call him Achilles, and he might well pass for that hero in his moody fit after the loss of Briseis. Seated on a rock, he clutches and draws up his knee with a somewhat sullen expression; on his right is his shield, whilst a little cupid sporting under his legs is, perhaps, the best token of his divinity. It is a fine work, and by some attributed to Lysippus; but no such statue by that artist is mentioned by ancient writers. An image of Mars appears to have been affixed to the helmet of the Roman legionary, to strike the foe with terror.⁴

¹ Cicero, "De Nat. Deor.," i. 30.

² Pausan., i., 8, 4.

³ "N. H.," xxxvi., 4, 7; "Vitruv.," ii., 8, 11.

⁴ "Ac nudam effigiem clipeo fulgentis et hasta,

Pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti."—Juv., "Sat.," xi. 106.

The word *pendentis* is a *erux*. In a desperate case, what if we were to read *frendentis*, "gnashing his teeth?" A change only of one letter.

Like her consort Zeus, Hera had also a resembling type in that of Demeter, or Ceres. It would be difficult to distinguish that in the Rotonda of the Vatican from Hera, but for the ears of corn in her left hand; and such attributes are often restorations. There is a good and somewhat colossal statue of her in the Louvre (No. 55), remarkable for the beauty of the drapery. She is often seen in bas-relief, accompanied by her daughter Cora, or Persephonë. A good bas-relief, in the Louvre (No. 64) represents the rape of Persephonë by Hades, or Dis.

The Egyptian deity Isis, early admitted into the Greek mythology, also partakes of the matronly form of Hera. She may be recognized by the *sistrum*, a sort of bronze rattle with bars. Flora has also something of the Hera type. She is best represented in the celebrated colossal statue in the Neapolitan Museum, formerly in the Farnese collection (Sala V.).

It would be tedious and unedifying to go through the whole cycle of the gods and demigods, and I shall therefore confine myself to those which have been chiefly the subjects of the Greek chisel, and whose representations consequently are pretty numerous. Such are Apollo and his sister Artemis, or Diana, with their choruses of Muses, or Nymphs; Hermes, or Mercury, the god who had most to do with the business of daily life, and whose images were thus so frequent that the term *Ἑρμογλυφεύς*, or Hermes-carver, became a synonym for a statuary; Aphroditë, or Venus, who, being the ideal of female beauty, naturally became a favourite subject of art, often accompanied by her son, Eros, or Cupid, and by the Charites, or Graces, sometimes also by Peitho, the goddess of persuasion; lastly, Dionysus, or Bacchus, who, together with his crew of Satyrs and Bacchantes, afforded admirable figures for the sculptor, and especially for groups in bas-relief.

Apollo appears in three principal forms; in repose, as the angry god, and as the leader of the Muses engaged in music and song. The bow and arrows and the lute symbolize the two opposite sides of his character.¹ But he also sometimes appeared as the sun-god. The older type of Apollo was more manly and robust than the later one, the face rounder and more earnest. The taller form, the oval head, and cheerful countenance were introduced by the younger Attic school. Of the older type there is a bronze figure in the British Museum, and a marble bust. Another very similar bronze bust, but without the flowing locks, found at Herculaneum, is now in the Neapolitan Museum. I will here mention by way of contrast the bust called the Giustiniani Apollo, also in the British Museum. These heads may serve to illustrate Greek art at the periods of its approach to perfection and of its incipient decline. The divergence of opinion respecting the Giustiniani bust affords a remarkable, and perhaps instructive, example of the uncertainty of art-criticism. Hirt, Meyer, Panofka, and Dubois ascribe it to the age of Pheidias; an opinion which must appear preposterous to anybody who has cast a mere passing glance at the works of that great sculptor. Kinkel thinks that the sentimental expression, the feminine hair dress—it is one usual with Apollo, as in the Belvedere statue, though the *crobylus* may be a trifle larger—and the sorrow expressed in the mouth and eyes, would lead to the idea that it was later than Lysippus; but the sorrow, he continues, is not more marked than in the Niobë, while the noble profile, the strong, sharp eyelids, the carefully arranged hair, belong rather to the fourth than to the third century B.C., and therefore to the second Attic school, or at all events to that of Lysippus. Zoëga considers the ex-

¹ Horat., "Carm.," ii., 10, 13; "Carm. Sec.," 34; Pausan., ii., 27, 3.

pression full of mildness, with a dash of Bacchic enthusiasm, which is hardly in Apollo's character; Wagner finds it gloomy and severe, whilst Benndorf discovers earnest softness, a gentle, quiet feeling, pity slightly mixed with sorrow. This critic, therefore, is of opinion, that from its remarkable tendency to sentimentality, it cannot be placed earlier than the time of Alexander. Wieseler, the editor of Müller's "*Denkmäler*," who has collected these opinions, thinks that it may be later than that period; that the arrangement of the hair is such as generally occurs after the time of the *Diadochi*, though there are earlier instances on coins.¹ A stranger notion than any here enumerated is that of Stark, who confidently assumes that it is a copy from the second fleeing daughter of Niobë!² Is it then possible that so many critics should have mistaken a female for a male, a mortal for a god?

This contrariety of opinion among so many eminent connoisseurs is rather discouraging to the student or amateur of art; it may, however, teach him a useful lesson—to think for himself. Let him make himself acquainted with the characteristics of the great artists of antiquity and their productions, as described in *ancient writers*; let him study the truth of such descriptions in genuine remains or approved copies of their works; and then let him draw his own conclusions. If he is incompetent to do that, he had better leave the matter alone.

I would not, however, be understood to mean that we should reject the aid of sober critics. With respect to the age of the bust in question, I am inclined to agree with Helbig and Mr. Newton. The former is of opinion that from its general type, and more especially the deep

¹ "*Denkmäler*," Th. ii., Heft. i., S. 170 ff. (ed. 1877).

² "*Niobe und die Niobiden*," S. 270.

cavities between the nose and eyes, it is in the style of the second Attic school, but that the forehead is without analogy in pre-Alexandrian art, and shows the change of the Attic type in the Diadochan period.¹ He remarks in the head earnest pathos combined with feminine character, and thinks that its prototype was the Apollo Musagetes of Scopas, copied in the age of Lysippus. He is further of opinion that it has no traits of the Græco-Roman school, and would thus, apparently, ascribe it to the time of the Diadochi. In this view Mr. Newton agrees.² Wieseler also thinks that it is the head of an Apollo Citharædus. I must confess myself unable to discover that it has any analogy with the Apollo of Scopas, as we know it in the Vatican copy. The melancholy, one might say sickly, sentimentality of the countenance resembles not the more manly and cheerful one of the god inspired by poetry and song. In the Citharædus the head is somewhat elevated, the look directed upwards, as befits a player on the lyre; whilst the bust is looking rather downwards, and shows not the lively animation suitable to the manner in which the god is supposed to be engaged. It may be further observed that the Apollo of Scopas wears an olive crown, which appears not in the bust. But it may be easier to give a negative than a positive opinion, and I will not venture to guess what it really represents.

Of the second and more pleasing form of the god several examples are extant, some of which may probably be referred to a Praxitelian model. He sometimes appears as quite a youth, hardly an *ephebus*. Perhaps the best statue in this style is the Apollo Sauroctonos³ (*σαυρόκτονος*, *lizard-killer*), and the best copy of it

¹ "Campanische Wandmalerei," S. 247.

³ Plin., "N. H.," xxxiv., 19, 10. Cf. Martial, xiv., 172.

² "British Museum Guide," p. 61.

that in the Vatican Galleria delle Statue. The original was in bronze, in which material Praxiteles made many fine statues, though he excelled in marble ones. Leaning carelessly and gracefully on the trunk of a tree, the youthful god is watching the ascent of a lizard, in order to kill it with the arrow which he holds in his right hand. It is a charming figure, but has in it little of the divine ; and I can hardly agree with Burekhardt that his occupation befits the *far niente* of a deity. We might readily take him for a mortal youth of almost feminine beauty, to which appearance the arrangement of the hair contributes. It has not the usual *crobylus*. There is another copy in the Louvre (No. 70).

Another statue of similar character is the beautiful little figure called the Apollino, in the Tribune of the Uffizi. It has the graceful curve of the body so often seen in the works of Praxiteles. The right arm, uplifted and resting lightly on the head, restores the balance of the figure, and suggests repose after labour. It may possibly be a copy of the figure described by Lucian¹ as being in his time in the Lyceum at Athens. The attitude is exactly the same. Lucian does not name the sculptor, but the style is essentially Praxitelean. The figure has more of divinity than the Sauroctonos. The youthful face is full of majesty, and the characteristic *crobylus* denotes the god. So also the quiver full of arrows ; but this attribute, as well as both the hands, appear to be restorations. In the magnificently executed group of Pan teaching the youthful Apollo—who, however, is sometimes called Olympus—to play on the syrinx, in the Neapolitan Museum (Sala III.),² the god is represented with charming *naïveté*.

¹ "Anacharsis," c. 7.

secret cabinet ; and perhaps it ought to

² Burekhardt erroneously says in the be there.

He seems trying to conceal a smile of ridicule at his unskilful teacher.

When engaged in the discharge of his higher and peculiar functions, Apollo is necessarily represented of maturer age. In his character of Citharædus, or Musagetes, we have the fine statue before alluded to in the Vatican (Sala delle Muse). The drapery, a tunic reaching to his feet, and a long and flowing mantle, gives him here also a somewhat feminine look; but in spite of the beauty of the laurel-crowned head, it would be impossible to mistake its air and expression for a female's. Bearing the cithara on his left arm, and wakening its chords with the right hand, his head thrown somewhat back with an air of inspiration, he seems to be advancing with lengthened strides at the head of his chorus. The original, as before said, is thought to have been a work of Scopas, and to have adorned the temple of the god on the Palatine, where it stood between his mother, Leto, and his sister, Artemis.¹ In the same room of the Vatican are statues of all the Muses, on which I shall not dwell. They are also collected together in the Sala delle Muse at Naples. Single statues of them frequently occur. That of Melpomene, in the Louvre, is of singular excellence.

The best known and most celebrated statue of Apollo is that called the Belvedere, from the place it occupies in the Vatican. It has enjoyed a reputation superior to that of most works of art, and was at one time considered to be the finest statue in the world. The progress of research, and the discovery of works of the earlier Attic schools, have in great part destroyed that opinion; the tide now runs the other way, and men seem disposed to break the idol which they once adored. The sober critic will steer a middle course, and whilst

¹ Propert., ii., 31.

he will acknowledge that the statue cannot claim a first place in art, he will still maintain that it possesses excellences far above the ordinary level. The author of it is unknown, and even its age is uncertain. It can hardly be older than the time of the Diadochi, and some critics have, not improbably, placed it as late as the Roman imperial period. That it is made of Carrara marble, which was only recently discovered in the time of Pliny, as Mengs was the first to point out,¹ proves nothing as to the date of the original from which it was probably copied.

Much has been written about this Apollo, and the nature of the action in which he is engaged. Winckelmann thought that Apollo *Kallinikos* (καλλίνικος, *the illustrious conqueror*) is represented, who, after killing either the Python or Tityos, with his arrows, is turning away from his vanquished foe with a mixed expression of pride and anger.² Visconti considered it to be an imitation of the Apollo *Alexicacos* (ἀλεξικάκος, *tutelary, averter of evil*) of the Athenian Calamis, which is surely refuted by its style. Hirt and Wagner thought that it belonged to the Niobë group; Feuerbach, that he was dispersing the Erinnyes; Missirini, that he was an Apollo Augustus. Müller, by whom these opinions are collected,³ thinks that the god is turning away after a victory, and that the anger of the combat is melting into cheerfulness. Winckelmann's view was long the prevailing one, and has been recently repeated by Burckhardt, who says: "his arrows having hit the mark, he turns to depart with an expression of haughty pride, and some remains of displeasure."⁴

In considering this statue, attention must be paid to

¹ "Opere," t. ii., p. 21. That author ascribes it to the time of Hadrian. Ibid., p. 22, note.

² Lib. xi., c. 3.

³ "Handbuch," § 361, note 1.

⁴ "Cicerone," p. 441.

the state in which it was found and the restoration it has undergone. It was discovered towards the end of the fifteenth century, at Porto d'Anzo, the ancient Antium, where the Roman emperors had a villa. It was in a tolerable state of preservation, but the left hand and the attributes which it held were wanting. By command of Pope Clement VII., the sculptor Montorsoli, a friend and pupil of Michelangelo's, was brought to Rome, and apartments assigned to him in the Belvedere whilst executing the restorations required for this statue, as well as for the Laocoon group.¹ In the absence of any guide, it was natural enough that Montorsoli should have placed in the hand of Apollo the fragmentary handle of a bow, his characteristic weapon and attribute, and the object of his principal epithets; and hence seem to have been derived the views already mentioned of various critics. But Montorsoli and his followers seem to me not to have taken into account the pose of the figure. A person shooting from a bow necessarily rests on the left foot, and the body inclines to the left side; but here the pose is on the right foot, and the inclination of the body towards that side, though the head is turned towards the left. He could not, therefore, be using his bow, nor preparing to use it. Again: suppose him to be satisfied with the effect of his shot, and turning away to depart—and he is evidently in quick motion,²—then the bow arm, which is in the original position, would naturally have fallen, instead of being still horizontally extended.

That the object held in the left hand was not a bow derives strong confirmation from a small antique copy of the figure in bronze, mentioned by Burckhardt's

¹ Vasari, t. iv., p. 500.

² This is denied by Overbeck ("Plastik," B. ii. S. 260) against the almost

consentient opinion of all writers, and the testimony of the eyesight.

editor, which was found towards the end of last century at Janina, and came into the possession of Count Stroganoff, at St. Petersburg. In this statue he appears to hold something flexible, which hung down, such as a faun-skin; and Stephani, who first called attention to it, thought it to be the ægis, with the head of Medusa. This view derives some confirmation from another little ancient bronze statuette of Apollo in the possession of Count Pulsky at Pesth, which, though differing somewhat in other respects from the larger statue, holds a similar object in the left hand. The ægis was not, indeed, usually borne by Apollo; but it was occasionally lent to him by Zeus, of which a special instance occurs in the Fifteenth Book of the Iliad, when the father of the gods exhorts him to lead on Hector and the Trojans to attack the Greeks.¹ Hector is there described as taking long strides; yet he is preceded by the swifter god bearing the ægis, and having his shoulders veiled in a cloud, typified in the statue by a cloak. The idea of swift motion is admirably conveyed; but the chief beauty of the statue is the god-like and haughty majesty expressed in the countenance. I had no adequate idea of this, till, on going over the Vatican by night, the attendant placed the torch behind the head of the statue. It was a perfect revelation.

Preller was the first to start the idea that the statue was a commemoration of the repulse of the Gauls in their attempt to plunder the temple of Apollo at Delphi; and this view has met with a good deal of favour. But it is only an unsupported guess, and it is more probable that the sculptor took the subject directly from Homer. In the legend relating to the attack of the Gauls, Apollo conquers by sending a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, which renders useless the ægis which he

¹ vv. 220 *seq.*

carries. He is also said to have been aided by Athena and by his sister Artemis, statues of whom also existed at Delphi. Hence Overbeck has been induced to make the Apollo Belvedere the centre of a group in which he has placed on one side of him the Artemis of the Louvre, commonly known as the Diana of Versailles, and, on the other side, a statue of Athena, now in the Capitoline Museum. But the Versailles Artemis has been universally recognized as representing her as the goddess of the chase, and engaged in that pursuit, not in any war-like action. The Capitoline Athena, again, wears the ægis, but makes no use of it, as one would think she should do, instead of Apollo. Preller's view would, of course, place the work after B.C. 279; but there is no evidence as to the age of the original statue, though, from the style, it could hardly have been earlier than that date, and may have been a good deal later, most probably of the imperial time.¹

Fault has sometimes been found with the disproportionate length of Apollo's legs and arms as compared with the body. But there are no parts of the human frame which show so much variety as these. Many a man who appears tall when seated or on horseback, seems dwarfed when standing, and *vice versâ*. The *beau idéal*, it is true, should remedy these defects, but the end of art is not merely the presentment of perfect beauty. It may be allowed to make a small sacrifice in this respect, in order to convey a more lively idea of the motive of a work, which, in this case, if the preceding view of it be correct, should be that of swiftness. After all, the length of limb is not much exaggerated, and to have made them too short would have been a much graver fault.

¹ On this subject see Overbeck, "Plastik," Buch v., cap. 4; Wieseler, ap.

Müller's "Denkmäler," Th. ii., Heft. i., S. 173 (ed. 1877).

Artemis, or Diana, Apollo's sister, reflects, as befits her sex, his qualities and characteristics in a milder form, as the moon does those of the sun. Under the hands of the second Attic school, she received that slender, agile form which also became typical of her brother. Her face was the female counterpart of Apollo's, and her hair was sometimes gathered into a *crobylus*, like his. Maidenhood being her characteristic, she is always clothed, but mostly in the Doric, or ancient Hellenic *chiton*; which, being shorter than the ample Ionic robe, left her legs at liberty for her favourite pastime, the chase. As goddess of light, or personification of the moon, she sometimes carries a torch. Her attribute, like her brother's, is a bow and arrows. As huntress, she is sometimes accompanied with a dog, sometimes by a deer, as protectress of wild animals.

There is a good small statue of Artemis in the more ancient or hieratic style in the Neapolitan Museum (No. 552). She wears the somewhat insipid smile characteristic of that stage of art. Traces of gilding may still be seen on the drapery. Praxiteles appears to have made several statues of Artemis, in which the beauty of the mouth was particularly remarkable.¹ This feature is well rendered in the charming statue in the Louvre, called the Diane de Gabies (No 97), from its having been found among the ruins of the ancient town of Gabii. It is among the finest works that have come down to us from antiquity. Clothed in a *chiton* with short sleeves, she is buckling her mantle on her right shoulder, towards which her head also inclines, an action which gives her the most graceful pose imaginable. There are several copies of this work.

The Louvre also boasts the best known and most frequently repeated statue of Artemis, the Diane de

¹ Petron., "Sat.," c. 126.

Versailles just alluded to (No. 98). Her rapid motion, still more clearly indicated by the bounding roe at her side, shows her engaged in the chase. Her attention seems to have been attracted by the noise of some animal; and M. Fröhner thinks that she suddenly stops to draw an arrow from her quiver. But her posture hardly suits that idea, which seems also to be contradicted by the galloping legs of the roe; nor does the passage which he cites from Pausanias prove anything of the sort.¹ She might draw the arrow without stopping in her course. Some of the ancients appear to have thought that the gods went with a gliding motion, and Virgil's line, "et vera incessu patuit dea," has been interpreted in this way. Homer, however, made his gods use their legs and feet, as we see from his description of the strides of Ares;² and in any case it would have been impossible to represent motion in statuary without their doing so. The right hand of Artemis, placed between the horns of the roe at her side, probably held a bow.

It has been sometimes thought that this statue formed a pendant to the Belvedere Apollo, and that both were executed by the same artist. This seems very probable, as they have the same ideal length of limb, vivacity of motion, and considerable resemblance in the face. The richly ornamented sandals, too, are much alike. That the Artemis was a work of the Roman imperial period seems even more clear than in the case of the Apollo. The short *chiton* might belong to the best time of Greek art; but the little mantle on the upper part of the body is found only in Roman works, and is never mentioned by classical authors when describing her attire.³

As *Soteira* (σώτριά), the Saviour, and *Phosphoros*.

¹ See "Louvre Catalogue," p. 123; Pausan., vii., 26, 4.

³ Wieseler, ap. Müller, "Denkmäler," Th. ii., Heft. i., S. 217.

² "Iliad," v. 20.

(*φωσφόρος*), the Light Bringer, Artemis is draped down to the feet, in a long and sleeveless Ionic *chiton*; but it is often difficult to say which of these characters she represents, as the arms, and the attributes they held, are frequently either altogether wanting, or modern restorations. The expression is mild and beneficent, but dignified. There are some statues of this type in the Vatican (Museo Chiaramonti and Gabinetto delle Maschere), and a fine one in the Louvre (No. 93). She is also completely draped in the charming statue in the Vatican (Bruccio Nuovo, No. 50), supposed to represent her as Selenë, or the Moon, discovering the sleeping Endymion, where her surprise and pleasure are expressed by her attitude.

Of all the gods Hermes, or Mercurius, was perhaps the most popular, from his extensive and intimate connection with the affairs of human life. As indicated by his name, he was especially the "Interpreter" (*ἑρμηνεύς*), and hence presided over language and letters and education, persuaded, and sometimes deceived, by his eloquence, was the patron of trade and commerce, and the go-between of buyers and sellers. He was also the giver of unexpected fortune, the discoverer of hidden treasure, the god of gain, and it must be added the patron of thieves. With respect to the gods, he was the herald and messenger of Zeus, as well as the connecting link between the upper and nether worlds; and in this last capacity, and as a partly infernal deity, the conductor of departed souls. Thus he was a perfect anti-type of Apollo, who concerning himself but little with the commonplace and daily affairs of life, was animated with a divine inspiration, which manifested itself in poetry and music, and the foretelling of the future; whilst, as the god of light and day, he had a horror of the nether world, and fled the approach and

sight of death.¹ The types of the two deities naturally presented the contrast which marked their characters. Both, indeed, are young; but Apollo often a mere stripling, of slender and somewhat feminine form; whilst Hermes is represented as perfectly adult, with limbs developed into strength and activity by the exercises of the *palæstra*. Thus Lucian observes that Pheidias, Polycleitus and Praxiteles represented Apollo as always a boy or lad (παῖδα ἐς αἰεί), but Hermes with a sprouting beard (ὑπηνήτην).² The difference is also characterized by the hair, that of Apollo being lank and long, and arranged in female fashion, while that of Hermes is short, stubborn and crisply curled, like that of an Attic *ephebus*. In more archaic types, and especially in bas-reliefs, we frequently find Hermes represented of still maturer age, and with a stiff and pointed beard. I am not aware of any remarkable statue of him in this form, but there are several statuettes in the Louvre, which seem to be imitations of the archaic style.

Two or three statues in the Vatican represent Hermes in the older and more developed form, but still beardless. One in the Galleria delle Statue having on its base the inscription *INGENUI*, is apparently engaged in some serious office. Posing on the right leg, near which is a lyre, he stretches forth his right hand, as if in the act of offering something, or of delivering a speech or message. The left hand holds the *caduceus*; a *chlamys*, fastened on his right shoulder, falls down on his back and left side. The body is strongly built and of somewhat heavy form; the countenance serious, but inexpressive.

A finer statue is that in the Belvedere, formerly

¹ Eurip., "Alcestis," v. 22 *seq.*

² "De Sacrificiis," c. 11. Cf. Homer, "Iliad," xxiv., 347.

called Antinöus, to whom, however, it bears no resemblance. It is in much the same pose as that just described, but the head is inclined a little downwards; the right arm is wanting, and there are no attributes to identify the god; but the muscular and well-formed limbs, the head with its crisply-curled hair, are true types of him. Here, too, the face is serious, even sad, but with a mild expression; so that we might fancy him engaged in his function of conducting the dead. The statue is beautifully finished.

The discoveries recently made at Olympia through the liberality of the German government have revealed a charming group of Hermes with the infant Dionysus. We know from Pausanias¹ that such a group existed there, and it was found in the exact spot which he indicates; another proof of that accuracy which all who have had occasion to follow his accounts in the localities he describes cannot fail to have observed. Already, indeed, one or two German writers have endeavoured to cast doubts on the authenticity of the work, which will surprise nobody acquainted with their too frequent tendency to display their ingenuity in raising objections, however ill-founded and frivolous. Their attacks chiefly rest on the somewhat rude and careless manner in which the hair is executed. I have before shown from Raphael Mengs that the Greek sculptors denoted the colour of hair by the way in which they executed it; that light hair was smooth, and black rough and bristly (*supra*, p. 44). This feature, therefore, is rather a confirmation of the genuineness of the statue than an objection to it, for black hair was characteristic of Hermes, as a partly Chtonian deity. Dr. Hirschfeld, indeed, who conducted the first excavations, observed traces of a reddish brown colour on some of the locks;

¹ Lib. v., 17, 3.

and Herr Georg Treu, his successor, fancied he could still perceive some.¹ But what weight can be given to a few evanescent marks of colour after the lapse of so many centuries? Or who can tell what the statue may have undergone in the decadence of art, or under the hands of barbarians? To paint the locks may have been thought an additional beauty. On the other hand, the sculptured stone remains in its original form, and confirms the remark of Mengs before quoted, and supported by examples. And, in fact, Herr Treu, though he seems to be unaware of this practice, or at all events does not adduce it, observes that the hair of this statue, from its roughness, appears all the darker as contrasted with the shining whiteness of the skin. Of the male deities, Apollo and Dionysus alone had golden hair;² and shock hair, like that of Hermes, would have been horrible if red. It may be further observed that the perfect execution of hair was reserved for Lysippus and his school,—another point in favour of the genuineness of the Olympian Hermes. Benndorf's suggestion that it may have been the work of a later sculptor also named Praxiteles, is almost too absurd to deserve notice. Such remarks are like a refuge for the destitute. Who ever heard of a second Praxiteles? And had there been one, would not Pausanias have mentioned and distinguished him on this occasion?³ Further: it is in the last degree incredible that any copy of an *anathema* should have been allowed to be set up in a temple like the

¹ "Hermes mit dem Dionysus Knaben," p. 10 (Berlin, 1878).

² Winckelmann, iv., 4, § 36.

³ See further on this subject Mr. Newton's "Essays on Art and Archæology," p. 350 *seq.* Dr. Hirschfeld's inference from the word *τέχνη*, used by Pausanias, that it was a work not of Praxiteles, but of his school, betrays

small acquaintance with the style of that writer, who frequently uses *τέχνη* in the sense of *ἔργον*. Thus of the Dionysus at Elis he says: *τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα Πραξιτέλους* (vi., 26, 1); of a group of the Dioscuri with a soothsayer, *καὶ ὁ μάντις τέχνη Πίσωνος ἐκ Καλαυρείας* (x., 9, 4); where *τέχνη* can mean only *work*.

Heraion; or that an artist capable of making so beautiful a statue as might pass for an original of Praxiteles, should have been silly enough to betray his want of skill in so subordinate a part as the hair.

Dismissing these cavils, the lovers of art may be congratulated on this for them great birth of time. The figure of Hermes is of the most perfect beauty, and with the exception of the legs from the knees, and of the right fore-arm, in good preservation. The head and face especially are uninjured, from the statue having lain with the face downwards, and covered with innumerable pieces of tile. The countenance is of rare beauty, and has a most pleasing and animated expression. The god, who is only a little above the full human stature, inclines towards the trunk of a tree which supports him on the left, in that easy, graceful posture which we so much admire in other works of Praxiteles. His uplifted right hand probably held some object to which he was directing the attention of the infant Dionysus, whom he supported on his left arm, but of whom only the lower part of the back remains. His *chlamys* falls in natural and graceful folds.¹ The subject appears to have been rarely taken in ancient art, but a similar group was executed by the first Kephisodotus, thought to have been at once the father and the tutor of Praxiteles.²

In his later and more agile form, Hermes differed but little from the type of the Attic *ephebus*, whose frame had been developed by the exercises of the palæstra. There is a fine statue of this sort in the Louvre (No. 183), which has been sometimes taken for a Hermes; but there is no attribute to identify the god, and it is pro-

¹ This description is taken from the large and well-executed lithograph in Treu's work before-mentioned. Since it was published, further fragments of

the group have been discovered. There is now a cast in the British Museum.

² Plin., "N. H.," xxxiv., 19, 27.

bably only a Grecian youth fastening his sandals. It is a perfect type of youthful manly beauty. The face is oval, the mouth and ears are small, the chin is pointed, the hair short and curly. The slender, but muscular limbs, the head, rather too small for perfect anatomical proportion, are characteristic of the style of Lysippus, to whose school the work has been sometimes referred.

Of Hermes in his character of messenger of Zeus there is an exquisite bronze statue in the Neapolitan Museum (Grands Bronzes, Sala III.). From his sitting on a rock, and looking intently downwards, Rathgeber, in his "Notte Napolitane," thought that he was fishing, and this view was adopted by Jahn; but, as Welcker observes, his hands are not in the posture of an angler.¹ Burckhardt, however, repeats the appellation. That critic, indeed, doubts whether it is meant for Hermes at all, and objects that what he has fastened to his feet are not sandals but wings, which thus do not properly belong to him.² But they are the ankle-wings which the god was accustomed to bind on his feet when bent on some rapid aerial voyage, and are here fastened over the insteps with straps.³ It is true, as Burckhardt says, that the head is not a type of ideal beauty, as we see it in some other statues, and the ears especially are longer and commoner; but the figure has all the essential traits of the god; the long, agile limbs are of the true mould, and if the head bear not very strongly the impress of divinity, the sculptor may have meant to show that he is not here engaged in one of his higher functions, but performing the somewhat menial office of a messenger. He is evidently resting awhile on some mountain top, whilst the lightness of his seat and earnest down-

¹ Apud Müller, "Handb. der Archæol.," § 380, Anm. 7, S. 590.

² "Cicerone," S. 429 *seq.*

³ "Pedibus talaria nectit," Virg., "Æn.," iv., 239. Cf. Hom., "Il.," xxiv., 340.

ward gaze, show him intent on speedily resuming his flight. His posture recalls the passage in Virgil just alluded to, where, being despatched by Jupiter with a message for Æneas at Carthage, he rests awhile on the summit of Mount Atlas :—

“ Hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
Constitit ; hinc toto præceps se corpore ad undas
Misit ; avi similis, quæ circum litora, circum
Piscosos scopulos humilis volat æquora juxta.”

Of Aphroditë, or Venus, goddess of beauty and love, the types are perhaps more various than those of any other deity, ranging from the severe and the matronly to the charmingly captivating and even the licentious. The second Attic school gave her, in her lighter character, a form which was never excelled. She was now first sculptured in a state of nudity; that is to say, as a single statue and object of worship; for she seems to have appeared almost undraped among the group of deities in the western pediment of the Parthenon. According to Pliny, Scopas first sculptured her naked. Pliny uses, indeed, a word of ambiguous meaning (*antecedens*), which might signify either preceding in time or excelling in beauty; and some critics have adopted this last interpretation. But such could hardly have been Pliny's meaning, as he had only just before (s. 5) characterized the Venus of Praxiteles as the finest work in the world, and such seems to have been the consentient opinion of all antiquity. Had he meant superior in beauty, he would surely have used the word *antecellens*. Moreover, the emphasis is on the word *nuda*; which, as both statues were naked, there would have been no occasion to introduce had it been a question merely of relative loveliness.¹

¹ “ Præterea (Scopæ manu) Venus in eodem loco nuda, Praxitiliam illam antecedens, et quemcumque alium locum

nobilitatura.”—Plin., “H. N.,” xxxvi., 4, 7. When Pliny here says that the Venus of Scopas alone would have made

The celebrity of the Cnidian Aphroditë of Praxiteles was unparalleled, as appears from the numerous allusions to it by ancient authors. The Cnidians refused for it the offer of King Nicomedes to pay off their national debt. The best description of it is Lucian's,¹ from which it appears that it was made of beautifully white marble, that it stood in a small temple open on every side, so that it might be surveyed all round; the pubes seemed to be hidden with one hand, without any appearance of self-consciousness, the eyes seemed moist and lustrous, the mouth was slightly opened with a fascinating smile. Praxiteles is said to have modelled this statue from the beautiful courtesan, Phrynë, with whom he was in love.

It appears that Praxiteles sometimes used colour, or at least a sort of tinting; for the precise meaning of the Latin term *circumlitio* is not clear. When asked which of his own statues he preferred, he answered, those which had been tinted by Nicias;² who was a celebrated encaustic painter. But this shows that he did not always resort to tinting. And from a passage in Lucian's "Imagines" it may be inferred that five of the most beautiful statues in the world, the Cnidian Aphroditë, the Aphroditë of Alcamenes, the Sosandra of Calamis, and the Amazon and Lemnian Aphroditë of Pheidias, were unpainted; for Polystratus objects that they want colour to make them perfect.³ Plato alludes to statues that were entirely coloured;⁴ and Pausanias mentions a statue of Dionysus that was coated with cinnabar.⁵ A statuette of Aphroditë, discovered at Pompeii in 1873,

illustrious any other place than Rome, where, as he goes on to observe, there were so many sculptures, he is surely not passing any superlative eulogium on it.

¹ "Amores," c. 11.

² "Quibus Nicias manum admovisset: tantum circumlitioni ejus tribuebat."—Plin., "N. H.," xxxv., 40, 28.

³ P. 462 *seq.*

⁴ Rep. iv., 120 c.

⁵ vii., 26, 4.

has yellow hair and tunic, black eyebrows and lashes. But the use of colour must have been far from universal. The Ephesian Hecatē in the temple of Diana at Rome was of such resplendent marble that the *œditi* recommended visitors to take care of their eyes.¹ It could not therefore have been painted. And Philostratus, in the Preface to his "Icones," places the chief distinction between painting and statuary in colour and its absence. But to return from this digression.

It can hardly be doubted that the Cnidian Aphroditē was the original model of most of the numerous statues of the goddess with which modern galleries abound, but slightly altered according to the fancy of copyists. In Lucian's description, only one hand is employed to conceal her charms; in later copies, the other hand is also used to cover the bosom; a posture which seems somewhat to degrade the goddess, and to imply the conscious shame of the mere woman. On a Cnidian coin struck in honour of Plautilla in the third century of our æra, and most probably copied from the original, she is in the attitude described by Lucian. From this fact, and from the silence of Pliny, showing that it had never been at Rome, the statue seems to have escaped the avidity of the Romans; and, indeed, as it was at Cnidus in Lucian's time, we are brought far down towards the time of Plautilla. The nearest approach to the original seems to be a statue formerly in the Vatican gardens, which is in the attitude described by Lucian, and shown on the coin; though the head is more elevated, and the pose reversed.² It has not that air of timidity and alarm seen in other copies, which would be natural to a mortal surprised in the same condition, and adds to the sensuality of the subject.

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxvi., 4, 10.

² Figured in Müller's "Denkmäler,"

Pl. xxxv.; where also will be found a cut of the Cnidian coin.

One of the most famous among such statues is the Venus de' Medici in the Tribune of the Uffizi. According to the inscription on the base, it was the work of an Athenian sculptor, Cleomenes, son of Apollodorus, about whom little or nothing is known; but he was probably one of those Greeks who worked under the patronage of the Romans. Like the Apollo Belvedere, this statue, of which Pope spoke as enchanting the world, has now lost something of its prestige. Though it has extreme beauty and refinement, it wants the simple grandeur of the earlier schools, and betrays something of coquetry and self-consciousness; an impression augmented, perhaps, by the smallness of the figure, which is below the ordinary life size. She is supported by a dolphin, on which is seated a little Amor; an attribute which, though typical of her birth, seems a little out of place on the dry land on which she is standing. But when criticism has said its last word, it will ever be a charming statue.

The somewhat colossal Venus in the Capitoline Museum is in a simpler and grander style. She is in much the same posture as the Venus de' Medici, but bends a little forwards; the hair, surmounted by a *crobylus*, is treated with more freedom. She is supported by a vase covered with drapery. It is difficult to give an air of divinity to an entirely nude female figure, but this perhaps makes a nearer approach to it than others of the kind, probably from its superhuman proportions. It is exquisitely finished, and its beauty is enhanced by the fineness of the marble and its almost perfect state of preservation. It was discovered at Rome in a bricked enclosure, but its history and maker are utterly unknown.

Aphroditë is sometimes represented in a crouching posture, as the statue in the Vatican, Gabinetto delle

Maschere, the best of the sort. Dædalus, a sculptor of the school of Polycleitus, had made such a statue, which in Pliny's time stood in the temple of Jupiter in the Porticus Octaviæ.¹ That in the Vatican, however, bears the name of Bupalos, who could not possibly have been the very ancient statuary of that name; but probably he who was associated with Lysippus in making the Samian Hera.² It is truly surprising that some German critics, and among them Overbeck, should have ascribed this statue even doubtfully to the Dædalus before mentioned, though it is allowed to be *genrehaft*, and unworthy of that age.³ This view is derived from the arbitrary emendation of a hopelessly corrupt passage in Pliny. Dædalus flourished before the time of the second Attic school, to which is universally attributed the first representation of Aphroditë in a state of nudity, as already seen. The Cnidian Aphroditë, and doubtless also that of Scopas, showed her at all events with the bearing of a goddess. She was conscious of no indecency, but, like our first parents in their state of innocence, was naked and not ashamed. The statue in question has the more sensual type of later art, and is, indeed, nothing but the representation of a fine woman, whose attractiveness is increased by her posture, and her air of conscious shame at her condition. Further, it is plain from the whole context that Pliny considered the work to be a late one. He is reviewing the progress of statuary chronologically, and this statue of Venus washing herself is mentioned *after* the sculptors of the second Attic school, and in the same section with Pamphilus, a pupil of Praxiteles, with Apollonius, Tauriscus, Timarchides and his sons, and even with Lysias, who

¹ "N. II.," xxxvi., 4, 10. But the passage is corrupt.

² Cedrenus, ap. Overbeck, "Schriftquellen," No. 1506.

³ "Plastik," B. i., S. 359. Cf. "Schriftquellen," No. 2045, p. 394.

seems to have lived in the time of Augustus. Nor could Pliny have called the statue of Aphroditë by Scopas the first nude one, had he thought that in question to have been still older.

The crouching Aphroditë may probably be of the same school as the Capitoline Venus; the hair is arranged in the same fashion, and the countenance and limbs have a considerable resemblance. She is thought to be washing herself in the water indicated on the base. Burckhardt observes, perhaps truly, that Greek art would not have stooped to the illusion of showing her under water. But did ever a person bathing, by immersion, assume such an attitude? If she is really taking a bath, it must be a *douche* one, by sprinkling, and she is sometimes represented on gems as thus besprinkled from a vase by an attendant. The motive, which seems to have been a favourite one, was even extended to Artemis, who, in a bas-relief in the Louvre (No. 103), is represented in this posture, with an Amor pouring water over her, whilst Actæon is seen in the distance. The scene is also represented in a very similar manner in a Pompeian picture. But though the motive suits well enough with a painting or bas-relief, it does not seem well adapted for a round sculpture, unless another figure were added; and it has sometimes occurred to me, that the statue might represent Aphroditë emerging from her shell, the shell being left to the imagination.

The pretty little statue in the Museo Chiaramonti, called the Cnidian Venus, is probably of late origin, and shows a wide departure from the original. A garment fastened round the hips descends to her feet, and serves to support the statue. With her right hand she is arranging her flowing locks, which she is about to anoint from a little vase of unguent, a motive fre-

quently repeated. There is another somewhat similar statue in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, and some bronzes at Naples. To the same class belongs the statue in the Sala delle Iscrizioni in the Uffizi at Florence, which seems to be improperly called a Venere Urania. She is evidently preparing for the bath. The arms are modern, but seem to be properly restored.

A further descent towards the voluptuous and indecent is seen in such motives as Aphroditë putting on her sandals, of which there is a fine *torso* in the British Museum (No. 194), and several more perfect copies. The Aphroditë Kallipygos in the Neapolitan Museum has still more of this character. It appears to be a Greek work, and was found in Nero's Golden House; but the head, part of the bust, and some other portions, are modern and inferior. She has removed the greater part of her garment, especially at the back, to display her charms.

Of a quite opposite type to the last is the matronly and draped figure of Venus Genitrix in the Uffizi. She has the epithet of *genitrix* as the reputed mother of the Julian race (*Æneadum Genitrix*). In this character she can, of course, hardly be older than the imperial times of Rome; and the first statue of the sort was in all probability that made by Arkesilaus, and placed in the temple of Venus Genitrix in Cæsar's forum, B.C. 46.¹ The Venus Genitrix of the Uffizi, though completely draped, wears a *chiton* of so slight a texture as to veil, but not conceal, her matronly forms. The right arm, and the left hand, in which a *tibia* has been improperly placed, are restorations. It is impossible to conceive a more striking contrast to the Medicean Venus in the same collection.

Another type of the severer kind is that of Venus

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxv., 45.

Victrix, or the Conqueror. It has been thought that the Aphroditē of Melos (Venus de Milo), so called from its having been discovered in that island in 1820, must be placed in this category. Respecting this gem of the Louvre, critics are agreed neither as to its age and origin, nor even as to its motive. Some have ascribed it to Scopas, or one of his pupils, but there are grave doubts whether it can be an original of the second Attic school. There are faults of execution which destroy the idealism of the work, and would hardly have been committed by an artist like Scopas. The head is disproportionately small, the right cheek is larger than the left, and the angles of the mouth are dissimilar. Again: an inscription on what is supposed to have formed its base, but is not quite clearly identified as such, states, according to a probable restitution, that it was the work of one Agesander, of Antiochia on the Meander, and as that city was founded by Antiochus I. Soter, who died in B.C. 260, it must in that case belong to the Hellenic period of Greek art. Thus we are very far from having any satisfactory evidence about it. It is possible, however, that its type and motive may have been suggested by a work of Scopas, or even by Pheidias' statue before mentioned made for the Eleans, as the Milo Venus has one foot on an object which has been sometimes thought to be a tortoise. Its eastern origin is strengthened by its being made of a kind of Asiatic stone called *coralliticum*.¹

The statue was found in a very mutilated condition, and parts, especially the nose, have been badly restored, some of them in plaster. The arms, except part of the right, are wanting, which makes it difficult to determine in what action she is engaged. According to M. Fröhner,

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxvi., 13; Fröhner, "Catal.," p. 172. Overbeck, however, calls the marble Parian (ii., 331).

she held an apple in her uplifted left hand, the prize of victory accorded by Paris, whilst the right hand was lowered to sustain her drapery. This hand with the apple, if such it be, has been found, but in a very mutilated condition. It is hard to think that, being partly draped, and having so severe an expression, she was represented as contending for the prize of beauty. She is clothed from the hips downwards. The type of the statue was probably borrowed from an older one, it may be from the Aphroditë Urania which Pheidias made for the Eleans, of which no copy seems to be now extant. One of her feet rested on a tortoise, symbolizing, according to Plutarch, the womanly duties of home-keeping and silence.¹ Pausanias ventures no opinion on this point, nor on the meaning of a bronze group by Scopas which stood in the same enclosure, representing Aphroditë in her wanton character as *πάρθημος* (*vulgaris*, *plebeia*), sitting on a ram. A fine colossal bronze statue at Brescia has much the same pose as the Venus de Milo, but is entirely draped; except for that circumstance, and the wings, she might almost pass for a copy of it. At her side is a shield, and a laurel wreath in silver encircles her head; attributes which, with the helmet on which she places her foot, show her to be a Victory. The Venus Victrix at Naples also bears considerable resemblance to the Melian; but the left foot is raised somewhat higher, and from her downward look she would appear to have had a companion. The head, too, has a diadem. Of the same type is the Venus of Arles in the Louvre, of which the Towneley Venus in the British Museum appears to be a copy. The arms of these statues are imperfect, and it is consequently doubtful what object was held in the hands. Mr. Newton considers the

¹ Plut. "Conjug. Precept.," 32.

Towneley Venus to be of the Macedonian period, or even more probably of the Augustan age;¹ the Venus of Arles, being made of Hymettian marble, is probably older, and from the hand of an Athenian artist. M. Fröhner, indeed, ascribes both to the school of Praxiteles.² A Victory in the Louvre, No. 476, brought from Samothrace and sadly mutilated, is remarkable for the treatment of the drapery, which Mr. Newton thinks has never been surpassed, and is inclined to attribute the work to the school of Scopas,³ whilst M. Fröhner ascribes it to the time of the Diadochi,⁴ though he considers it to approach the Pheidian school in point of grandeur.

The principal figure in the cycle of Aphroditë is her son Eros, or Cupido. This figure received its best and most lovely form from the hands of Praxiteles. According to the well-known story, Phrynë, to whom he had promised a work, discovered which he valued most by telling him that his house was on fire, when he exclaimed that he was undone if his Satyr, or his Eros, had been destroyed. Phrynë chose the Eros, and presented it to the Thespians, who placed it in a temple; and numerous were the visitors it attracted, for it was said to be the only thing worth seeing in the town. It was brought to Rome by the Emperor Nero, and was extant in the time of the elder Pliny, in the Schola of the Porticus Octaviæ, but seems to have been destroyed in the great fire, in the second year of the Emperor Titus,⁵ A.D. 80.

This statue had not the playful character of the wanton and mischievous little god who inspires the amorous passion, whose image appears in the later school of Lysippus; nor must either be confounded with the little Amores, or Loves, who are so often adjuncts to

¹ "Br. Mus. Catal."

² "Louvre Cat.," p. 180.

³ "Essays," p. 90.

⁴ "Catal.," p. 434.

⁵ Concerning it see Cicero, "Verr.," iv., 2, 4; Plin., "N. H.," xxxvi., 4, 5; Dio Cassius, lxvi., 24.

other statues and groups. It is indeed but rarely that the proper Eros is seen in conjunction even with his mother. The Praxitelian type was suggestive rather of divine than earthly love. We have probably a copy of it in the charming torso in the Vatican (Galleria delle Statue), sometimes called the Genius of the Vatican. It represents a naked and delicately moulded youth, approaching the age of puberty. The head is turned somewhat sideways and downwards; the flowing curls descend upon the shoulders; the beautiful and almost feminine features express earnest passion. Both the forearms and both the legs from the hips are wanting; marks on the back show that originally it had wings, which appear to have been gilded. There is a somewhat similar statue, in more perfect preservation, but of inferior execution, in the Neapolitan Museum (Sala III.). Another, in the Louvre (No. 326), bears some analogy to that just described, and may perhaps have been suggested by it. The fondness of Praxiteles for this specimen of his art is shown by his having made several copies of it, one of which was at Messana, another at Parium on the Propontis. Of a somewhat similar type was Thanatos, or the Genius of death, to the representation of which I have already adverted.

Of the Eros whose function it was to inspire the passion of love there is a statue in the Museo Capitolino at Rome and another in the Vatican, probably copies after Lysippus. The little god stands with wings expanded, and seems to be watching the effect of the arrow he has discharged. His quiver rests on the trunk of the tree which supports him.

In a temple of Aphroditë at Megara was an ancient statue of the goddess, to which had been added Peithô (Πειθώ, Persuasion) and Paregoros (Παρηγορος, Exhortation) from the chisel of Praxiteles, and from that of

Scopas, Eros, Himeros (Ἰμερος, Desire) and Pothos (Πόθος, ardent Passion). It might be difficult to discriminate the functions of these cognate deities, but Pausanias assures us that their forms were different, in accordance with their names and acts.¹ We may perhaps assume that this difference consisted chiefly in a greater or less degree of violence and activity. The figures assigned to Scopas are the more violent ones, and this is agreeable with the nature of his genius. In Lucian's Dialogue between Aphroditē and Paris, the latter asks the goddess whether in his flight with Helen to Troy she will bring Eros, together with Himeros and the Graces? To which she replies, not only these, but Pothos and Hymen also; thus showing that Pothos is still more connected than Himeros with the end and fruition of love.²

Although I have reserved another place for bas-relief, I will here mention one which serves to illustrate the subject under consideration. It is a charming little piece in the Neapolitan Museum representing the Persuasion of Helen (Bas-reliefs en marbre, dernière Salle). Helen is seated on the left, with Aphroditē at her side, who, with the aid of Peithō, who sits above them, is engaged in persuading her to elope. On the opposite side stands Alexander, or Paris, in earnest conversation with Eros, who with his magnificent spreading wings fills the middle space. Nothing can surpass the elegant, easy grace of the figures. Their names are inscribed in Greek letters.

Groups of Eros and Psychē are of late date. It is sometimes thought that Apuleius, who lived in the age of the Antonines, first related the story of their loves in his "Golden Ass;" but it had an earlier origin. Pictures

¹ According to the certain emendation of εἶδον, for the vulgate εἰ δὴ, which makes nonsense. Pausan., i., 43, 6.

² "Deor. Dialogi," 22, 16.

of Eros and Psychē are frequently found in Pompeii; among them one representing her punishment, as described in an epigram of Meleager, who lived in the century preceding the birth of Christ.¹ The best group of Eros and Psychē, though not of superior excellence, is that in the Capitoline Museum, in the same cabinet with the Venus. Whether the beautiful but much damaged bust called Psychē, found at Capua and now in the Neapolitan Museum (Portico III.), really represents her is doubtful. The melancholy, but unrivalled beauty of the face makes it not unworthy of the second Attic school.

Ganymede, the page and cup-bearer of Zeus, is somewhat analogous to Eros. The best extant statue is that in the Uffizi (Gabinetto dell' Ermafrodito), but only the body and legs are antique; the rest, including the eagle, are restorations by Benvenuto Cellini. The head is an anachronism. It is not Greek but Florentine, and of that realistic and rather common type which we see in paintings of Cellini's time.

The younger Dionysus, with his rout of Bacchanals, Mænads and Satyrs, were chiefly creations of the second Attic school, and afford some of the most beautiful productions of the Greek chisel. Dionysus was a sort of *parvenu* among the deities of Olympus, and was not of much account in the earlier days of Athens, although he was the patron of their drama. In the time of Pheidias there was still no statue of him at Athens, only a ξόανον, or rude wooden image, which had been brought from the village of Eleutheræ.² Alcamenes, a pupil of Pheidias, first gave him a befitting statue; but being made of ivory and gold, as was the orthodox fashion of that school, was perhaps more remarkable for costliness than as a work of art. Lucian, who was bred a sculptor, and

¹ Helbig, "Camp. Wandmalerei," S. 243.

² Dyer's "Athens," p. 42 *seq.*

was consequently a good judge of art, in his humorous piece called "Jupiter Tragædus," in which the father of the gods is held up to ridicule, makes him give the seats of honour in the council of the gods which he has summoned, according to the value of the materials of which each deity was made, and without regard to the beauty of the workmanship. Hermes consequently assigns the foremost seats to those made of gold, which gives the places of honour to barbarian gods, to the great disgust of the Greek ones. A scene of the utmost confusion ensues, and Zeus is at last obliged to bid them seat themselves promiscuously, according to their fancy. It is evident from the whole context that Lucian preferred the marble statues to the ivory ones even of Pheidias and Alcamenes; and indeed one might conclude *a priori* that they were better works of art. The richness of the material was a remnant of barbarism fitted only to impose upon the vulgar; and thus we find these ivory gods vanishing with the progress of taste, just as the gilding of pictures did in Italy.

The earlier Dionysus was stately and venerable, an elderly figure with flowing locks bound together with a *mitra*, and a magnificent beard descending on his chest. His almost female attire, a long robe falling down to his feet, betokened his eastern origin. The best statue of this type is that in the Vatican (Sala della Biga), if it be really Dionysus, for it is inscribed with the name of Sardanapallos. This can hardly be the name of the artist, for none such is known, nor is it a Greek form. Some have taken it to represent the last of the Assyrian kings; but Winckelmann objects that Sardanapalus shaved every day. He thinks, however, it may have been a former king of that name; but where he finds him does not appear.¹ Though stricken in years, the

¹ "Storia," &c., lib. iv., 6, 20.

expression of the countenance is gleeful. There are two or three busts of the bearded Dionysus in the Neapolitan Museum, and some in the Louvre. The head was often repeated in masks down to a late period.

In a pediment of Apollo's temple at Delphi was a statue of Dionysus accompanied by the Thyiades, whose mother, Thyia, was thought to have first celebrated bacchanal orgies on Mount Parnassus.¹ The statues were executed by the Athenians Praxias and Androsthenes, younger contemporaries of Pheidias. Whether Dionysus was there sculptured in youthful and naked form depends on the question whether the statue in the Louvre (No. 216) be the original from Delphi. It is somewhat colossal, of Pentelic marble, and the unfinished state of the hair and back shows that it stood in a pediment. The nose, the arms, the legs, and the left thigh are wanting; but its style is worthy of the Pheidian age. The young and naked god is crowned with ivy; a fawn-skin fastened on the left shoulder falls on his breast. From the loss of the limbs, the attitude and motive cannot be determined.

The authenticity of this statue cannot be questioned on the ground of its being a *prolepsis*, for it is certain that the more youthful form of Dionysus must have become popularized between the time of Æschylus and Euripides, and therefore a generation before Praxiteles and Scopas. Æschylus, in his "Lycurgeia," introduced the god upon the stage in his elderly and bearded form,² whilst Euripides, in the "Bacchæ,"³ exhibited him as a beautiful youth with golden locks, love-darting eyes, and a delicately white skin. It is true, indeed, that the god had there assumed the human form; but, even

¹ Pausanius, x., 19, 4. Parnassus was sacred both to Dionysus and Apollo; and Welcker observes (ap. Müller, "Denkmäler," i., 151) that we

have here a proof of the union of the worship of both gods at Delphi.

² "Scholia" ad Aristop. "Eqq.," 406.

³ vv. 235 seq., 453 seq.

so, it cannot be doubted that the poet had given him the type of the veritable divinity; and Callistratus, in describing a statue of Dionysus, observes that it resembled the description of Euripides.¹ Hence the second Attic school were not absolutely the inventors of the younger and more lovely Dionysus; but they undoubtedly gave him the finishing touches, and made a model for succeeding artists.

But though Scopas and Praxiteles are known to have made several statues of Dionysus, no extant original, or copy, can be certainly indicated. That just alluded to as described by Callistratus, was a bronze one by Praxiteles. The expression which he had infused into the work is particularly noteworthy, as characteristic of the school. He was not content with mere beauty without passion and emotion (*τὴν παθῶν δῆλωσιν.*) The face was joyful and smiling; the wild and fiery eye showed incipient inebriety. There is a marble statue in the Louvre called the Richelieu Bacchus (No. 217), which bears some resemblance to this description; another of a late Roman period in the Neapolitan Museum (Sala II.), and a seated *torso* in the Vatican (Galleria delle Statue). Dionysus more frequently appears accompanied by another figure than alone. One of the best groups is that of Dionysus and Ampelos in the Villa Borghese at Rome; but the figure of Ampelos is sadly mutilated. Another group, formerly in the Farnese collection (Neapolitan Museum, Sala II.) shows the god accompanied by the winged Eros; but the figure of Dionysus is somewhat heavy. There is a beautiful bust in the Capitoline Museum (Room of the Dying Gaul.)

The community of worship between Apollo and Dionysus before adverted to is further illustrated by the fact that the Muses are sometimes found in the

¹ "Statuæ," 8 (p. 155, Jacobs).

train of the wine god.¹ In the Attic deme of Phlyens there was an altar to Apollo with the epithet of Διονυσόδοτος (giver of Dionysus); and Dionysus in turn was called Melpomenos (Μελπόμενος, the singer), for the same reason as Apollo was styled Musagetes (Μουσαγέτης, leader of the Muses).² The instruments chiefly used in his festivals were the pipe and the cymbals; whether he himself was ever represented with the lyre depends on a doubtful passage in Callistratus;³ but it is certain that that instrument is sometimes seen in the hands of his attendant Satyrs and Kentauris.

The Bacchic rout, or Thiasos, has afforded subjects for some of the most pleasing works of antiquity, whether in single figures and groups in the round, or in bas-relief. It is in this latter style, of which I shall speak in the next section, that the composition and character of the Thiasos are best displayed; meanwhile I will mention a few statues. The figures of the Thiasos are Satyrs, Sileni, Pans, Bacchantes, or Mænads, together with Kentauris and other appropriate animals; to which are sometimes added as companions or spectators of the mummary, mere human buffoons in masks and variegated dresses.

In the hands of Scopas, Praxiteles, and their school the figures of the Thiasos received their appropriate types. Some of them have a half brutish nature, and if we except the Mænads, or Bacchic women, there is none that has not some animal feature. Most conspicuous in the rout are the Satyrs, or as they were called by the Romans, Fauns; but these last, though analogous and having also little tails, are a distinct race, and the name should not be applied to any Greek work. The Satyrs, though not gods, had something of the divine nature, and the older ones were supposed to

¹ Sophocles, "Ant.," 965; Plut., "Symp.," viii., Proem.

² Paus., i., 2, 4, and 31, 2.

³ "Statuæ," viii. (Jacobs, p. 155, 29).

have the gift of prophecy. They vary in age from the elderly to the boyish. The older ones, called Sileni, are ugly enough. Squat, bloated, splay-faced, flat-nosed, they are the very image of intemperance, but the only truly animal features are a little tail, and occasionally indications of horns. Besides those comprehended under the general name of Sileni, there was also a distinct personage, or Silenus proper, who in the "Kyclops" of Euripides gives himself out for the father of the Satyrs, who compose the chorus of that play.¹ In works of art, Silenus is characterized by the traits already described, to which may be added patches of hair over the whole body. He is mostly in a drunken state, and needing the support of his companions. Sometimes he rides on an ass, or in a car drawn by asses; for that animal was sacred to him. It is obvious that such a figure would not make a good statue; he passes best in a crowd, and is therefore generally seen in bas-reliefs. He is sometimes, however, represented alone, with his coarser traits somewhat softened down, as in the statue in the Coffee House of the Villa Albani at Rome. There are in the Lateran two statues of him sleeping on a wine-skin. As guardian and tutor of the youthful Dionysus, he is well represented in a group in the Louvre (No. 250), the motive of which is thought to be derived from the school of Praxiteles. In this statue the grosser features are almost effaced, and the legs are even thought to be very models of Art. Some good examples of him may be found among the bronzes at Naples, and especially two in the middle of the third room. One of these shows him enjoying a tranquil slumber; the other lies on a wine-skin in a state of drunkenness, snapping his fingers with gleeful face. On his forehead are two scarce perceptible horns. In

¹ See vv. 13, 269, &c.

the preceding room is a capital little Silenus, discovered not long ago at Pompeii, carrying a sort of tray on his head.¹ If the spectator looks attentively at this figure, he will see that he must inevitably fall, the right leg not being sufficiently advanced to secure his balance. But this, so far from being a fault, indicates drunkenness, shown also by the drooping head. We expect to see him fall the next moment, and scatter the contents of the tray on the floor.

Several Satyrs are mentioned among the works of Praxiteles: one in a bronze group with Dionysus and Methë brought from Athens to Rome; a marble one in the temple of Dionysus at Megara; and that which stood in one of the choragic monuments in the Street of Tripods at Athens. This was his Periboëtos and most famous one, which he valued equally with his Eros, as shown by Phrynë's stratagem before alluded to. Several copies are thought to exist representing a youthful Satyr with a *nebris* on his breast, leaning negligently with his right arm on the trunk of a tree, and apparently holding in his hand a flute on which he has been playing, whilst his left hand rests gracefully on his hip. The best example is that in the Capitoline Museum (Room of the dying Gaul). If the motive be not taken from the Periboëtos, it can scarcely be doubted, from the style, that it is from some other Praxitelian work; as may be still more confidently asserted since the discovery of the Hermes.

Many other statues of Satyrs, if they cannot be referred to any particular master, at all events have the character of the second Attic school. A frequently recurring example is a boyish Satyr leaning cross-legged on the stump of a tree and playing the flute, or laying it aside. A good statue of this kind in the Braccio

¹ See "Pompeii," p. 297 (Bell and Sons, 1875).

Nuovo of the Vatican is said to have been found in the Villa of Lucullus. Another frequent type is a more elderly Satyr who appears to be engaged in the vintage. In his right hand is a bunch of grapes, which he gleefully surveys; the left, extended horizontally, holds a *pedum*; a *nebris* fastened on his chest and falling over his left arm, forms a sort of bosom containing grapes and apples. He has hung his syrinx on the trunk of a tree which serves for his support. There is a good example in the Vatican, and a still better one in the Museo Capitolino in *rosso antico*. This last has by his side a goat, the enemy of the vine, with one foot on the mystic basket, and looking up wistfully to the bunch of grapes in the Satyr's hand. Among these satyric figures may be mentioned the admirable bronze statuette found at Pompeii, in the house called after it, the House of the Faun, and now among the bronzes in the Neapolitan Museum. He is of the full-grown and bearded type, with a tail of ample size, and two sprouting horns, which show themselves in the midst of his oaken garland. His legs, his uplifted arms, the snapping of his fingers, show all the animation of a half-tipsy dance.¹

Satyrs of a nobler type bearing on their shoulders the infant Dionysus are not unfrequent. One in the Neapolitan Museum (Portico III.) is thought to be as late as the time of Hadrian. The youthful god, holding a huge bunch of grapes, sits astride the Satyr's shoulders, who looks up smilingly at him, and seems about to clash his cymbals. On his left is a small pillar, on which are his *nebris*, *pedum*, and *syrinx*, together with a vine branch with grapes.

Female Satyrs are rare. There is a bust of one in the Louvre (No. 286), and a dancing one in the Villa

¹ See "Pompeii," p. 296.

Albani. Bacchantes or Mænads, frequently occur in pictures and bas-relief, but not as statues. The Mænad of Scopas was doubtless the model for these figures. Of this statue, celebrated in several epigrams, a long description is given by Callistratus,¹ but in a style of gushing, rhetorical affectation which may almost rival certain modern effusions. If his account can be trusted, she showed in her face the Bacchic *oestrus*, or fury; her dishevelled hair was agitated by the breeze; the wildness of her maniac passion was indicated by the kid she had just slain; and so the Bacchæ are described as doing in the play of Euripides. Callistratus says nothing of her dress, but it was doubtless in that fluttering disorder seen in most representations of Mænads. The kid was painted of a dark colour (πελιδνόν); another proof of the painting of statuary. There is an admirable bas-relief of a Mænad in extasy in the Louvre (No. 293), the motive of which is thought to have been suggested by this statue.

Ariadnë, though not properly belonging to the Thiasos, or at all events not in the earlier portion of her life, is connected with Dionysus by the story of their love, and is frequently seen in his company in bas-reliefs and pictures. She is represented alone in the charming statue in the Vatican (Galleria delle Statue), reposing in the sleep during which she was abandoned by the faithless Theseus. A more beautiful figure cannot be conceived. Her left arm and hand support her head, over which the right is carelessly thrown; the right leg is crossed over the left. A thin and ample drapery, exquisitely wrought in the most graceful folds, covers without concealing her noble form. The position of the right arm has sometimes been objected to, as hardly true to nature; but fancy it away, and the

¹ "Statuæ," ii.

statue loses half its charm. It was formerly called Cleopatra; but it is identified by a relief near it of Ariadnë abandoned, where she is represented in precisely the same attitude.

As Silenus is the father of the Satyrs, so Pan, the shepherd god, had also, in Art at least, a numerous progeny, some of which are mere children, Panisci, or little Pans. From the hips downwards, Pan has the form of a goat; the face has a goatish look, and two horns sprout from his forehead. Such a being was ill-suited for a statue; yet he appears to have had one at Athens even before the time of Pheidias. It was dedicated on the Acropolis by Miltiades soon after the battle of Marathon; for Pan is said to have predicted victory to the Athenians on condition that they would worship him.¹ But no remarkable single statue of him can be indicated. On the other hand, he frequently occurs in groups, and especially in bas-reliefs. He is one of the principal figures of the Thiasos, and the merry-maker of the jovial crew. The best group, and one often repeated, shows him teaching Apollo, or the youthful Olympus, to play on the syrinx, as already described (*supra*, p. 164). Pan is sometimes represented butting with a goat. In a pretty group, he is drawing a thorn from a Satyr's foot; a subject also found in a painting in the house of Lucretius at Pompeii.

Kentaurs, half-man, half-horse, appear in the Thiasos harnessed to the car of Dionysus. They were sometimes endowed with human wisdom, and thus the Kentaur Cheiron was the tutor of Achilles. One of the best examples of a Kentaur is that in the Louvre (No. 299), with his hands tied behind his back, subdued and punished by a little Amor, who stands upon

¹ The inscription, by Simonides, is now in the Public Library at Cambridge. See Dr. Wordsworth, "Athens and Attica," p. 69.

his haunch and seems to be whipping him. The pained expression of the Centaur's face bears some resemblance to that of Laocoon. One of his ears is depressed, the other elevated; his wrinkled nose recalls that of a neighing horse. The motive is repeated in one of a companion pair of Centaurs, in black basalt, in the Capitoline Museum. The merry face of one forms a strong contrast to the other; in that respect they are the very images of Heraclitus and Democritus. These admirable sculptures were done, as the inscriptions show, by the Cyprians Aristeas and Papias of Aphrodisium, most probably in the reign of Hadrian, and are another among many proofs of the excellence which sculpture still preserved in that age.

Acratus (*ἄκρατος*, pure, *i.e.* unmixed wine), may be mentioned here as one of the companions of Dionysus, though I am not aware that he ever appears in the Thiasos, unless he may be one of the little figures sometimes seen driving the Centaurs. He was represented among the Dionysiac crew in the house of Polytion at Athens.¹ A beautiful mosaic, showing him as a little winged dæmon, was found in the House of the Faun at Pompeii, and is now in the Neapolitan Museum.²

The Sicyonian, or Argive, school of sculpture, which followed the second Attic, flourished chiefly in the reign of Alexander the Great (B.C. 336—323). Its principal sculptors were Lysippus and Euphranor. The hegemony of Art no longer belonged to Republican Athens. Sculpture was hereafter to find its patrons among courts and monarchs; but it continued to be successfully cultivated by the Athenians, though they no longer produced artists who founded schools.

Polycleitus was the model of the Sicyonian school, which had consequently his defects and merits. In the

¹ Pausan., i.

² "Pompeii," p. 394.

hands of Lysippus both seem to have been exaggerated. The second Attic school had preserved something of Pheidias' majesty; with the Sicyonians, ideal grandeur degenerated towards realism. Bodily form was their chief care, and expression quite subordinate. At the same time they refined and elaborated too much. Pliny calls their innovations in this way *argutiæ*, or subtleties,¹ which showed themselves especially in the minute execution of the hair. Lysippus gave slenderness to the robuster figures of his predecessors, and made the heads smaller, according to his idea of symmetry. He was accustomed to say that the ancients made men as they really were, whilst he showed them as they ought to be. An attempt to improve upon nature which sometimes shows itself in the incipient decline of Art, as in the slender and unnatural figures of Parmigiano.

Some extant statues are held to be copies after Lysippus. I have already referred to the Ares of the Villa Ludovisi, and the *ephebus*, or so-called Hermes, in the Louvre. To Lysippus has also been sometimes attributed the athlete called the Apoxyomenos (*ἀποξύμενος*, scraping himself, *i.e.* with a *strigil*), in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican; a merely human and unidealized figure, but of wonderful beauty, to which the posture of the arms especially contributes. The head also is very fine, and not so disproportionately small as on some statues of the school; as, for instance, the Louvre *ephebus*.

Lysippus worked chiefly in bronze, and made several colossal statues in this material. Of these the most renowned for beauty was the Heracles at Tarentum, which Fabius Maximus, when he took that city, transferred to the Roman capitol. In the reign of Constan-

¹ "N. H.," xxxiv. 19, 6.

tine it was carried to Constantinople. To judge from copies on ancient gems,¹ it is perhaps this statue that has the best claim to be considered as the prototype of the celebrated Belvedere *torso*, of which presently. A still more wonderful work of Lysippus in the same city was a bronze colossal Jupiter, the largest colossus after that at Rhodes. It was too big to be carried off, yet so wonderfully poised that it could be moved with the hand, though it defied the storms.² On the other hand, Lysippus descended to minute work, and made for his patron Alexander the Great a figure of Heracles not more than a foot high, designed as an ornament for the dining-table, and hence called Heracles *epitrapezios*. Sulla, who was a great lover of Art and literature, brought it to Rome. The story that it was the statue before which Hannibal, in Africa, vowed eternal enmity to the Romans surpasses all belief. The notion must have arisen from Martial having mixed up the idea of the god with that of the statue. On the same ground it might be inferred that it was once in the possession of the mythical Molorchus, the host of Heracles when on his way to encounter the Nemean lion!³ In the time of Martial and Statius, it appears to have been in the possession of a private Roman citizen, named Nonius Vindex. Heracles, renowned among his other labours for eating and drinking, was seated on a rock, over which was spread his lion's skin; he held in his right hand a cup of wine, in the left his club, and he was turning up his face towards heaven.

I have described this statue because Heyne thought

¹ See that figured in Müller's "Denkmäler," Pl. xxxviii., No. 156.

² Strabo, xvi., p. 278; Plin., "N. H.," xxxvi., 40.

³ "— intra — stet mensura pedem." — Stat. "Silv.," iv. 6, 38.

"Utque fuit quondam placidi conviva
Moloreli

Sic voluit docti Vindicis esse deus."
Mart., ix., 44.

it was the model of the *torso* just referred to; an opinion which has had many adherents down to quite recent times, and among the rest the editor of Burckhardt's "Cicerone."¹ But Overbeck has shown that it is an erroneous one.² The *torso* is in too mutilated a condition to afford any sure conclusion as to its original motive. All that can be said with certainty is that it represented Heracles seated on his lion's-skin spread over a rock, and in this it agrees with the bronze statuette; but instead of conveying the idea of the hero enjoying a repast, and turning his eyes towards heaven, the posture denotes weariness after labour, and the head must have inclined downwards rather than upwards. Winckelmann, who first called attention to this *torso*, thought that it represented the hero at rest in heaven; an idea confuted by the rock.³ Visconti was of opinion that it formed part of a group of Heracles and Hebe, as seen on a Florentine gem, and this view was adopted by many eminent critics. But Flaxman, and the Danish sculptor Jerichau, attempted to restore it in this way, and found it impossible.

After all, it appears not that there are any certain grounds for thinking that the *torso* is a copy from an original by Lysippus. We have no description in ancient writers of any statue by him that resembled it, and others besides him may have sculptured the hero. Why should it not have been an original work of the Athenian Apollonius, whose name it bears? Had it been a mere copy of a famous work by Lysippus, or any other eminent sculptor, it would have required not a little impudence in Apollonius to say that he made it (ἐποίησεν), as the false claim would have been immediately detected. Many good Athenian sculptors, called the New Attic School, settled at Rome were quite

¹ "Sculptur," p. 422, note.

² "Plastik," ii., 291.

³ Lib. x. c. 3.

capable of executing such a work ; which, to judge from its present state, demanded only a good knowledge of anatomy, in which these later artists excelled.

These remarks will also perhaps apply to the colossal Farnese Heracles in the Neapolitan Museum, bearing the name of the Athenian Glycon. In this well-known statue the hero is resting with his left arm and hand on his club after his labour of taking the apples of the Hesperides, which he holds in his right hand behind his back. I do not mean to deny that these statues are in the style of the school of Lysippus, which is here conspicuously shown by the disproportionate smallness of the head. But it is well known that the best artists adhered in general to established types ; which does not necessarily imply that they were servile copyists.

The well-known group of the Dioscuri taming their horses, which stands before the Quirinal Palace at Rome, and was formerly thought to be the work either of Pheidias or Praxiteles, is now considered by some, but on no better grounds, as a copy from the school of Lysippus.

Statues and busts of Alexander the Great may be confidently regarded either as originals by Lysippus or copies after him. It is well known that Alexander would permit no sculptor but Lysippus, and no painter but Apelles to take his likeness ; nor can it be imagined that any subsequent artist would have ventured to alter the original model. And indeed the portraits which we have of that conqueror are very much alike. The best statue of him is that in the Munich Glyptothek. He is represented naked, posing on the left leg, whilst the right foot rests on a helmet. The whole of this leg, however, the left foot, and both arms are restorations by Thorwaldsen. In Winckelmann's time, the statue stood in the Rondanini palace at Rome, and he regarded it as the only genuine one. The head, turned slightly

upwards, has a somewhat melancholy expression; the hair falls down in long locks on each side, as usually seen in his portraits. There is a small statue in the Louvre which also shows him naked, only he wears a helmet. The limbs are slender and well proportioned, the attitude graceful; the countenance bears a strong resemblance to that of the Munich statue, but is more cheerful.

Perhaps the most faithful bust of Alexander, though not remarkable as a work of art, and hardly worthy of the chisel of Lysippus, is the much damaged one in the Louvre, which bears Alexander's name inscribed in Greek characters belonging to about a century and a-half before our æra. It has all the appearance of a portrait from the life, without any addition of ideal beauty; and though it has a serious expression, wears not that melancholy air so often seen in his likenesses. Hence one might be inclined to suspect that it may have been the work of Lysippus' brother, Lysistratus, who first introduced individuality into portraiture. Before him, portraits had generally been more or less idealized; but he gave the features of his subjects just as they were, without sparing their defects; and in order to be accurate he took a cast of the face with gypsum, from which he moulded copies in wax.¹ It is possible that he may have made such a portrait of Alexander before the more flattering likenesses of his brother procured the latter a monopoly for them.

There is a fine colossal head of Alexander in the Capitoline Museum, which has been sometimes thought to represent him as the Sun-god, but on what grounds it does not appear. At all events Lysippus seems not to have sculptured him in that character. The head has all Alexander's usual characteristics, including his

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxv., 44.

sadness; it is turned slightly to the left, and looking upwards, a posture he used to assume to conceal his wry neck, which was imitated by his flattering courtiers.¹ His sadness is unaccountable except from natural temperament. The idea that it arose from a presentiment of his early death is absurd; he had not the slightest reason to anticipate it. He perhaps affected a sentimental air to embellish features otherwise morose.

This expression is heightened into some degree of physical pain in the fine bust in the Uffizi called the dying Alexander, to which I have before adverted (*supra*, p. 140). But it is hardly conceivable that he should have been portrayed in such a state. Müller has pronounced the head to be a riddle, and all attempts to solve it must be no better than guesses. The features certainly bear considerable resemblance to Alexander's, and the hair is arranged in the same way as in his portraits; but it wants that nicety of finish which marked Lysippus' treatment of this feature. The head, too, is turned towards the right instead of, as usually, towards the left. It is possible that the sculptor may have taken Alexander's head as a model for that of some mythical or imaginary hero.

Among imaginary busts, those of the Seven Wise Men in the Vatican (Hall of the Muses) are thought to be after originals by Lysippus, as, according to an ancient epigram, he had represented them in company with Æsop.² The head of the Otricoli Zeus, as before mentioned, is by some considered as a modification by him of one by Pheidias.

Before quitting Lysippus, a few words may be said about allegorical sculpture, of which his Cairos (*καιρός*, Opportunity) is the first known example. From an

¹ Plut., "Alex. M.," 4.

² "Anthol. Gr.," iv., 16, 35.

ancient description,¹ it appears to have been a shy-looking youth, with long hair in front, but nearly bald behind—you must seize him by the forelock. His feet were winged, and he stood on a ball, showing how quickly he passed away. In his right hand was a scales, emblematical of changing fortune, in the left a pair of scissors, to cut the thread of events.

The personification of abstract ideas, as Virtue, Health, &c., is a sort of allegory, and such personifications became deities. Such is not the case with the elaborate one just mentioned, for nobody would make Opportunity a god. Some personifications, as Nikē (Νίκη, Victory), Nemesis (Νέμεσις, *celestial Vengeance*), Eirenē (Εἰρήνη, Peace), Hebē (Ἥβη, Youth), &c., go back to a remote period, and have much analogy with the gods of Olympus who are themselves personifications of the powers of nature. They are generally grouped with other figures, but sometimes found alone. Such personifications were very frequent among the Romans, as Honor, Virtus, Fides, Fortuna, Pudicitia, &c., and were often idealized portraits of celebrated ladies. Their allegorical nature was shown by their attributes. I will here mention two in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. That of Pudicitia is a charming figure, but the head is partly restored. She is drawing aside a long veil, which falls down on her arm. There were at Rome a Pudicitia patricia and a plebeia; the statue in question, from the diadem and the aristocratic mien, seems to be the patrician Modesty. Her *sacellum* was in the Forum Boarium; that of her plebeian sister in the Vicus Longus.² The other statue is Fortuna, recognizable by her attributes, an anchor and a cornucopia. She had a celebrated temple at Antium. Such statues are always draped.

¹ Callistratus, "Statuæ," 6.

² Dyer's "Rome," p. 94.

After Lysippus' time, Art, and also in some degree poetry and literature, emigrated as it were from Greece, and followed the footsteps of Alexander's victorious generals into the East. Several of these generals became founders of kingdoms, and as Alexander's successors, obtained the name of Diadochi. In Pergamus, Seleucia, and Alexandria especially, the capitals and courts of these new dynasties, art and literature were welcomed and encouraged. In such circumstances sculpture necessarily underwent considerable modification. Its ancient character was changed, without mixture, however, of the Asiatic, for the artists were still Greeks. Hence this new school obtained the name of the Hellenic, or cosmopolitan Greek; and may be said to have lasted down to the taking of Corinth by Mummius, B.C. 146.

Court life was one of the chief elements in this change. The new monarchies imbibed something of the Asiatic luxury and corruption. It was the æra of *parvenus*, adventurers, and intriguers. Men began to assume a tone of gallantry in their intercourse with women, who on their side adopted those little airs and graces which mark the coquette. They also took a more prominent part in society. Love verging on wantonness, as well as unfortunate love, and the sentimentality which accompanies it—a thing unknown in more ancient times—formed a frequent topic in literature, and impressed itself upon Art. The drama approached more nearly to the modern standard, as in the comedies of Menander, which are pictures of actual and daily life. The tendency of Art was also the same way. It shrank not from exhibiting those stronger forms of the pathetic, which the earlier schools had more sparingly adopted. Physical suffering was represented for itself alone, and not, as in the Niobë group, as the natural and necessary

accompaniment of some tragic story. This, however, is to be remarked for its frequency, rather than its novelty. The line, as before said, must not be drawn too hard and sharp. Aristophon, the brother of Polygnotus, had painted the sufferings of Philoctetes, and Silanion, the contemporary of Lysippus, had sculptured Jocastë in the agony of death.¹ Such representations were both promoted and bettered by the superior knowledge of anatomy which now prevailed. This knowledge, however, was rarely abused for the mere sake of displaying it, as in modern times by Michelangelo, and some others. To take us into a dissecting room is not the province of an artist, but to show the body in its living and perfect state, when the warmth of action gives the muscles a different form from that which they assume in death. Anatomical studies may guard an artist against error, but can never suggest fit models for the pencil or the chisel.

It is not surprising that in these circumstances the idea of personal beauty should have undergone a change. The grace of the preceding school was now carried to the verge of effeminacy. A shaved and smooth-faced race took the place of the well-bearded ancient Greek. Colouring the hair and painting the face were now sometimes done even by men, as by Demetrius Phalereus.² I cannot, however, think with Helbig, who has well described this era, that the long, flowing locks of young men were altogether a novelty,³ for, as shown above, it was anciently a characteristic of youthful heroes. It may, however, have been a revival of an intermitted custom. The female sex naturally carried these innovations to a greater excess. Artists,

¹ Plut., "De audiend. Poet.," iii., 30;
"Quæst. conv.," v., 1, 2.

² Athenæus, xii., 542 D.

³ "Campanische Wandmalerei," S.
258, *seq.*

also, began to give their women softer and more voluptuous forms, and the representation of nudity became more common.

The tendency to realism is shown in the portrait statues of the period, which were mostly in bronze. Those in marble are Roman imitations. In the earlier part of the fourth century, and before the time of Alexander, the characteristic forms were grandly and simply rendered, to the neglect of individual peculiarities. We might be inclined to ascribe to this period the noble statue of Sophocles in the Lateran, to which that of Æschines in the Neapolitan Museum, though of somewhat inferior merit, forms a companion. A cast of it has now been placed in the Lateran. The age of these statues is unknown. But here also the line must not be too sharply drawn. The statue of Mausolus, executed in the age of Scopas and Praxiteles, now in the British Museum, has all the marks of individualism and truth to nature. In this style are also the Spada Aristotle, the Euripides, Demosthenes and Menander in the Vatican; in which last the somewhat faulty eyes seem to have been a natural defect. Yet though thus realistic, the sculptors of this age employed their chisels on imaginary busts, such as those of Peisander, Homer, &c., intended probably to be placed in libraries. That in the Neapolitan Museum called Seneca, may probably have been the bust of an Alexandrian poet.¹ We may perhaps also place in this category the statues of mythical heroes; such as those of Paris, Adonis, and Meleager in the Vatican.

The two most famous schools of sculpture during the Hellenic period were those of Pergamus and Rhodes. That of Pergamus chiefly flourished during the reign of Attalus I. (B.C. 241-197), who was a great patron of

¹ Helbig, "Campanische Wandmalerei," p. 38.

the Athenians, and an admirer of their city, which he adorned with a *stoa* or portico. When he visited Athens a few years before his death he was received with an adulation befitting an Asiatic prince, thus showing how deep had been the fall of that ancient republic. The groups of sculptures which he dedicated on the Acropolis have been already mentioned. Pliny mentions four sculptors, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonius, and Antigonus, who made groups of Gallic battles for King Attalus.¹ These artists worked in bronze; whence it has been inferred that there probably existed at Pergamus bronze copies of the groups in question.² It is further thought that the well-known statue of the Dying Gaul, and the group of the Barbarian and his Wife in the Villa Ludovisi, formerly called Pætus and Arria, are works of the school of Pergamus. The resemblance between the Dying Gaul and a statue in the Attalus group strengthens this view. But the Ludovisi statues being of life-size, it is highly improbable that they could have belonged to any large group, though they may have stood in a pediment. Both these works are thought to be original, and no mere Roman copies.³

The Dying Gaul, long known as the Dying Gladiator, has been celebrated under the latter name in the verse of Byron. Nibby, the Italian critic and archæologist, first identified him as a Gaul.⁴ The proof rests on descriptions of those barbarians in ancient writers. The face is shaved, with the exception of the moustache; the hair is combed backwards from the forehead; around the neck is a *torques*, or twisted necklace, similar to those of bronze or gold often found in Gallic

¹ "N. H.," xxxiv., 19, 24.

² Overbeck, "Plastik," ii., 188.

³ Wieseler, ap. Müller, "Denkmäler," Taf. xlviii., No. 217, S. 41.

⁴ "Osservazioni sopra la statua appellata il Gladiatore moribundo."

tombs. His complete nudity, the large crooked horn by his side, the ample shield on which he lies, are also proofs of his nationality. To prove him a Gaul does not indeed also prove that he was no gladiator, for the Romans often compelled their barbarian captives to fight in the arena. But had he been such, we should have expected to find some gladiatorial arms by his side instead of the shield and horn; nor is it probable that any sculptor would have taken for his subject a mere common barbarian. He is evidently a Gaulish chief, who has either fallen in battle, or, on an hypothesis advanced by Overbeck, has committed suicide to avoid captivity and slavery. He refers in support of this view to the Ludovisi group, where the barbarian, after despatching his wife, is stabbing himself. It may be observed, however, that the man has taken effectual means to effect his purpose, by thrusting his sword into his left breast in the region of the heart, whilst in the other figure the wound is below the right breast, a place which a suicide would hardly choose. Indeed a person standing upright would have great difficulty in wounding himself there; nor had he fallen on his sword, as Overbeck suggests, would it have been a likely spot. The body, in such a case, would naturally have inclined to the left.

What is it that gives pathos to this statue, and makes us hold our breath, as if we feared to add to the sufferer's pangs by our intrusion? It is not caused by the beauty of the figure, which, according to Lessing's hypothesis, is necessary to excite compassion. The face is positively ugly; the form, though manly, is nothing but common nature, without a trace of idealism, without the least approach to the beauty of a Grecian *ephebus*. Nor can our sympathy arise from any circumstances attending his death, for these are utterly

unknown. The statue has no history attached to it. That despair has driven him to commit suicide is merely a conjecture, and were it true, would take some little time to think it out, whilst the feeling of the pathetic is immediate and direct. The preceding generation, who thought the man a common gladiator expiring in the arena, felt at the sight the same emotions as ourselves, as is shown by Byron's lines. In vain some German writers have attempted to explain the pathos on far-fetched, and so-called æsthetical grounds. Our sympathy has no cause but that physical agony which all must endure—"mentem mortalia tangunt." In the expression of that agony with perfect truth to nature lies the wonderful art of the statue. It is the triumph of realism. Overbeck takes an inconsistent view of his situation, first describing him as still in a state of excitement, and breathing strongly and freely as when engaged in the combat, whilst towards the end he is yielding to the faintness of death.¹ It is impossible that these two opposites should meet in a single moment. I will here quote the opinion of a writer eminent both as an anatomist and a critic of art:—

"The dying gladiator," says Sir Charles Bell, "is one of those masterpieces of antiquity which exhibit a knowledge of anatomy and of man's nature. He is not resting; he is not falling; but in the position of one wounded in the chest, and seeking relief in that anxious and oppressed breathing which attends a mortal wound with loss of blood. He seeks to support his arms, not to rest or sustain the body, but to fix them, that their action may be transferred to the chest, and thus assist the labouring respiration. The nature of his sufferings leads to this attitude. In a man expiring from loss of

¹ "Plastik," B. ii., S. 195.

blood, as the vital stream flows the heart and lungs have the same painful feeling of suffocation which is produced by obstruction to the breathing. As the blood is draining from him, he pants, he looks wild, and the chest heaves convulsively. And so the ancient artist has placed this statue in the posture of one who suffers the extremity of difficult respiration. The fixed condition of the shoulders, as he sustains his sinking body, shows that the powerful muscles common to the ribs and arms, have their action concentrated to the struggling chest. In the same way does a man afflicted with asthma rest his hands or his elbows upon a table, stooping forwards that the shoulders may become fixed points; the muscles of the arm and shoulder then act as muscles of respiration and aid in the motion of the chest during the heaving and anxiety which belong to the disease.”¹

Pliny, as before observed (*supra*, p. 53), describes a statue by Cresilas of a wounded and dying man which must have borne a striking resemblance to this Gaul; for his condition could not be more graphically pictured than by Pliny's words. Yet as that statue was still in its place on the Athenian acropolis in the time of Pausanias, and had not been carried off by the Romans, it is probable that Pliny took his description from a copy, or from the account of some writer. But it is another confirmation of what I have before remarked, that subjects of a pathetic nature are not to be so exclusively confined to the later schools as some writers would have us to believe.

The group of the Barbarian and his Wife before alluded to, in the Villa Ludovisi, is also doubtless of the Pergamenean school; and it may be by the same artist as the Dying Gaul, for, besides its cognate subject, it is

¹ “Anatomy of Expression,” p. 195.

made of the same marble. The subject is much more intelligible. The man has already despatched his wife, and clutches her arm with his left hand as she sinks in death, in a posture rendered with admirable truth to nature, whilst he completes the double sacrifice by thrusting the still reeking sword into his own breast. It can hardly be doubted that the murder and suicide are prompted by the desire to escape dishonour and slavery. Having here the motive, as well as the physical suffering, we ought, perhaps, on what are called æsthetical grounds, to be much more touched by this group than by the Dying Gaul. Yet, somehow or another, the feelings of nature are stronger than the suggestions of reason; and every unprejudiced spectator will, I think, acknowledge that the statue moves us more than the group. The latter has never gained so world-wide a reputation; no poet has ever celebrated it in his verse. It may be because the image of death is much more forcibly shown in the Gaul; and the "*plurima mortis imago*," divides and weakens instead of strengthening sympathy, as in the Æginetan pediment.

Of later sculptures, Asiatic or Roman, I shall mention only a few examples. Between the school of art at Rhodes and that at Tralles in Caria there seems to have been a close connection. Under Attalus II. Tralles became a possession of Pergamus, and thus fell under the influence of its art. The group at Naples called the Toro Farnese is the work of two Trallians named Apollonius and Tauriskus. These sculptors, however, seem to have been Rhodians by origin, or, at all events, to have belonged to the school of art in that island; whence the group in question was brought to Rome. It is the largest ancient one in round sculpture extant. It probably stood in the centre of some apartment or court, and not in a niche, as the Laocoon; and was

therefore meant to be viewed all round. The subject of it is the story of Dirkë. Antiopë, mother of Zethus and Amphion, flying from the persecutions of Dirkë, had given birth to these two sons in the solitudes of Mount Kithæron, where, she having been forced to abandon them, they were found and brought up by shepherds. Many years afterwards, when they had attained the age of manhood, Antiopë visited Kithæron, and recognized her sons by what the shepherds told her. It happened that Dirkë came at the same time to the mountain to celebrate the Bacchic orgies; when Zethus and Amphion, at the instigation of their mother, seized and bound her to the horns of a bull, which dragged her over the rocks till she was dead. The subject is thus exhibited. A rearing bull forms the centre of the group. On the right, Amphion perched on a rock, and identified by the lyre at his feet, has seized the bull by one horn and the muzzle, whilst Zethus is fastening the rope round his head. On the other side Dirkë, half recumbent on a rock beneath the legs of the rampant bull, clasps the leg of Amphion with her left hand, and holds up the right in supplication. The vine-garland and mystic basket at her feet show that she has been engaged in the rites of Dionysus. Some critics have found a far-fetched and recondite meaning in the snake that issues from the basket, but in fact that reptile was an ordinary accompaniment of Bacchic orgies.¹ Antiopë looks on. The scene is denoted by the rocky ground. A young shepherd in Bacchic attire is seated near the foot of Amphion; his syrinx is laid on the rock, and his huge dog is barking at the figures engaged in the action. His principal use seems to be to fill a vacant corner; but his costume serves also to show what has been going on.

¹ See Welcker, "Giebel-gruppen," S. 364, Anm., and Mr. Sandys' note on the "Bacchæ," of Euripides, v. 102.

This group was found in a very damaged state, and was restored as we now see it by Battista Bianchi, a Milanese sculptor of no great learning. The restorations are so extensive as to necessitate a knowledge of them before forming a judgment of the work. They are, in the figure of Dirke, all the upper part of the body from the navel, and thus of course the arms; also the right foot and leg to above the knee. In the figures of Amphion and Zethus, little more than the *torsi* and the right leg of Zethus are antique. The legs of the bull and the cord are modern.¹ Hence it will be seen that there is no authority for the posture of Dirke, except that the upper part of her body, as shown by the legs, must have been in a half recumbent position, and turned towards the left. She would hardly have voluntarily adopted a posture which puts her at the mercy of her assailants. In the original, no doubt, Zethus had forced her into it by seizing her hair; as Hyginus relates from the play of Euripides,² and he is thus shown in a representation of the subject on a coin of Thyatira;³ but in the group, as it stands, the posture is completely voluntary. Nor is there any authority for her hand having been placed on Amphion's leg; which has been explained by the far-fetched idea that she is appealing to him as the milder of the brothers! She could have known nothing about him; for it was only just before that even Antiope had recognized him as her son. The lyre at his feet, which appears to be genuine, is only to enable the spectator to recognize him. The whole arrangement is mostly a mere invention of Bianchi's, and thus it appears that some of the principal motives of the group

¹ Winckelmann, "Storia," lib. x., c. ii., s. 12. The account of the restoration given by the sculptor Angiolo Solari, and recorded by Finati, agrees in all essential points with that of Winckel-

mann. See Welcker, "Giebel-gruppen," p. 365, note.

² "Fab.," viii.

³ Figured in Müller's "Denkmäler," Pl. xlvii.

must be attributed to him, and not to Apollonius and Tauriscus.

It is even disputed whether the figure of Antiope was in the original work. Some critics hold it to be a late Roman addition, whilst others regard it as the best preserved part of the group. It is certain that her feet, and part of her dress are of one piece with the basis; and though some contend that the basis is not the original one,¹ the best authorities agree that the upper part of it is antique. The argument from Pliny's silence about the figure is of no weight. She is a mere spectatrix of the action, and it might as well be objected that he does not mention the shepherd and his dog. He alludes to the work with the greatest possible brevity, and apparently only for the purpose of introducing the names of the artists. Further: his words are open to the interpretation that the rest of the group, excluding Antiope, are of the same piece of marble; which, indeed, appears even now to be the case. Antiope was surely essential to the motive of the design, which would have been incomplete without her; and, artistically, the group, intended to be viewed all round, would have shown a gap without her figure. Winckelmann considered it, except the restored head and hands, to be one of the best parts of the work; he also admired the young shepherd, who, he thinks, resembles Laocoon's sons; and for fineness of workmanship the mystic basket.² But if Antiope is a late Roman addition, as Overbeck and others think, then there are other alterations besides those of Bianchi; and consequently the group is still more imperfect, and all the less fit to be taken as a model of Rhodian art, and to be compared with the Laocoon.

¹ Overbeck, "Plastik," ii., 241; Burekhardt, "Cicerone," Sculptur, S. 502.

² "Storia," &c., x., ii., 12.

This, however, is what Overbeck does, who hesitates not to assert that the effect of the group is more satisfactory than that of the Laocoon. It must be allowed that the story is well told; that is, putting aside Bianchi's absurdities. We see by the accessories in what Dirke has been employed; the scene of the action, with the wild animals in relief, is well indicated; the efforts of the youths to subdue the rampant bull give occasion for the display of muscular vigour and activity; it is plain that in another minute Dirke will be tied to his horns, and dashed to pieces on those rugged rocks. But the subject is revolting. It includes, indeed, an act of filial piety, but disfigured by the unnecessary brutality with which it is accomplished. It seems to me that Overbeck confutes his own view when he says, after Welcker, that the dangerous conflict of the two young heroes, and their athletic struggles, serve to fix our attention and divert it from their cruel and revolting purpose. It is the catastrophe that should fix our attention; and to divert it by the manner of the representation, resembles those ill-conceived pictures before adverted to, where the chief motive is almost obliterated by the adjuncts. The moral of the subject, on which German critics usually lay so much stress, falls into the background, and precedence is claimed for the exertions of athletes. But into this part of the subject I will inquire further on, in considering the comparison which Overbeck has drawn between the Toro Farnese and the Laocoon; and will only further say, that I accept in preference Müller's verdict with regard to the former work, that it makes an imposing appeal to the senses, but contains nothing to satisfy the mind.¹

Overbeck claims for the Laocoon a place among the earlier works of the Rhodian school, and makes Age-

¹ "Denkmäler," § 157.

sander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, the sculptors of it, about contemporary with Apollonius and Tauriscus. His arguments are chiefly founded upon style; whence it might be supposed that there are numerous examples of the Rhodian school still extant, or, at all events, many descriptions in ancient authors by which to form a judgment. But what is the fact? On Overbeck's own showing, only two groups have any pretension to be called Rhodian. One is the Toro Farnese, the claim of which is, as already seen, doubtful; the other is, or rather is assumed to be, the Laocoon itself! a mere *petitio principii*, as its age and origin are disputed. Written testimony must always be more decisive than arguments from style, whose strange divergences and fallacies have been already seen; and I will therefore make an endeavour to discover the age of the Laocoon from what Pliny says about it. The reader will, I hope, pardon some necessary verbal criticism in an inquiry which concerns an important point in the history of art.

“There are not many more artists of renown, that of certain of them being obscured by the number employed in excellent works; since in that case one alone cannot enjoy the glory, nor can several be put on an equal footing. Such is the case with the Laocoon in the palace of the Emperor Titus, a work to be preferred to all the productions, whether of painting or statuary. The distinguished Rhodian artists, Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, taking counsel together, made him, his children, and the wonderful coils of the serpents out of one piece of marble. In like manner (*similiter*) Craterus with Pythodorus, Polydectes with Hermolaus, another Pythodorus with Artemon, and Aphrodisius the Trallian, by himself, filled the Palatine residences of the Cæsars with excellent statues. The Athenian Diogenes decorated Agrippa's Pantheon, and the caryatides for the

columns of that temple are of rare beauty, as also are the statues on the fastigium, though less celebrated on account of their height.”¹

The opening words of this paragraph show that it is a continuation of a list of sculptors, whom, in the preceding sections of the chapter, Pliny had recorded in, with few exceptions, chronological order, from the earliest period down to the reign of Augustus; with notices of the places in Rome where any of their works might be found. In this 11th section he comes to the imperial period, and enumerates works executed for the Cæsars down to his own time, or the reign of Titus.² No other conclusion can be fairly drawn from it, than that the sculptors named actually lived in the time of these emperors, and worked for them. In the previous section (the 10th) Pliny had mentioned the Toro Farnese. “Zethus and Amphion,” he says, “Dirkë, the bull, and the rope, all made from the same piece of marble, are the work of Apollonius and Tauriscus, brought hither from Rhodes.” If Agesander and his companions had been contemporary with Apollonius and Tauriscus, what possible reason could Pliny have had for not mentioning them together? The latter sculptors would come under the same category of fame being obscured where more than one artist was employed. The only reason can be that they were separated by two circumstances: first, by the interval of time; and, secondly, because Pliny had reserved the 11th section for the enumeration of sculptors who had worked for the emperors.

Overbeck evidently felt that this was an inevitable conclusion from Pliny's words, as they stand; for, in order to elude it, he has recourse to one of those *tours*

¹ Plin., “N. H.,” xxxvi., 4, 11.

² By his calling Titus *Imperator*, Pliny must have written this passage shortly before his death. For Vespa-

sian died June 23rd, A.D. 79, and Pliny perished in the eruption of Vesuvius on the 24th of August following.

de force which some German writers adopt when a passage in a classical author stands obstinately in the way of a pet theory. He transfers bodily the last two sentences of the 11th section (from *similiter*, "in like manner") to the end of section 10, where they have no meaning whatever. If we ask on what authority this is done, we find that it rests merely on an arbitrary alteration—I will not say emendation—made by Urlichs, and, of course, according to Overbeck, with evident justice (*mit augenscheinlichem Rechte*);¹ but it is not said why. By such a method one may prove whatever one likes. Lessing, at once one of the soundest and acutest of critics, was at first doubtful about the age of the Laocoon, but was ultimately of opinion that the word *similiter* inseparably connects together, and places in the same category of time, the sculptors of the Laocoon with Craterus and Pythodorus, Polydectes, and the rest mentioned as working for the Cæsars.² And such, I think, must also be the opinion of every competent and unprejudiced inquirer.

If Pliny's testimony as to the age of the Laocoon may be considered as decisive, it might be thought unnecessary to examine arguments from style. But as such a mode of reasoning is common enough in Germany, and is elaborately used by Overbeck in the pre-

¹ See Overbeck's "Schriftquellen," S. 391 f.; Urlichs, "Chrestomathia Plin.," p. 387, who seems to have undertaken to re-write Pliny. It should be mentioned that some critics refer *similiter* to *de consilii sententia*. As if there were any necessity to repeat that they who work together take counsel together! And then, with whom did the "*singularis* Aphrodisius" take counsel but himself?

² "Ist es aber sonach ausser allem Zweifel, dass Craterus und Pythodorus,

dass Polydectes und Hermolaus, mit den übrigen, unter den Kaysern gelebet, deren Palläste sie mit ihren trefflichen Werken angefüllet: so dünkt mich kann man auch denjenigen Künstlern kein ander Zeitalter geben, von welchen Plinius auf jene durch ein *similiter* übergeheth. Und dieses sind die Meister des Laokoon, u. s. w."—"Laokoon," § 26. There are other unanswerable reasons in the same section, but the above suffices.

sent instance, I will here briefly state his arguments. It is contended, 1, that, from its originality, the Laocoon cannot possibly belong to the Roman imperial period, when that quality was entirely lost; 2, that there is no probability that the three greatest artists of the Rhodian school should have lived at Rome, and at a time when art had perished in their own country, instead of at home, and during its highest development; when Aristonidas produced his Athamas, and Apollonius and Tauriscus the Dirkë group; 3, that the Laocoon is the natural third step in the development of pathetic sculpture, the first step having been taken in the age of Pheidias, the second in that of Praxiteles; which renders it improbable that the third step should not have been taken till after an interval of three centuries; 4, that the same consequence follows from the progress of grouping, which may be traced from Pheidias through the Niobë group and the *symplegma* of Kephisodotus to its last development in the Toro Farnese and the Laocoon; 5, that a like conclusion may be drawn from form and style, no further change being possible after the refinements of Lysippus, who made his figures supernaturally fine and small, except by sacrificing the harmony of a composition, as a whole, to the elaborate detail observable in the Laocoon, which completes, indeed, the effect aimed at by Lysippus, but for which there is no motive in the time of Titus, nor for the other characteristic peculiarities of the group. On the other hand, it was a natural process in the Rhodian school during the time of the Diadochi, and analogous to the florid rhetoric of the period.

In considering the argument from originality, we must first determine in what artistic originality consists. In all cases it is much less than poetic originality, from the mere fact that painting and sculpture are in the

strictest sense imitative arts. Neither the painter nor the statuary is required to invent a fable; but rather, as already insisted on, to take a well-known one. No doubt a certain originality may be displayed by them, especially in large subjects, in the selection of the circumstances and of the moment, in the grouping, &c. When Pheidias made his designs for the pediments of the Parthenon—the birth of Athena and her contest with Poseidon for the Attic supremacy—there was room for the display of all the originality of which art is capable. He must, indeed, have founded those works on pre-existing myths; but he could have had little or no guide for a composition of them in marble. The moment to be chosen, the way in which he should show it, with all its numerous figures and accompaniments,—in short, what is called *invention* in painting,—lay entirely with himself. But the Laocoon group, not a very complicated one, was already marked out for the sculptors by previous descriptions. It has been a subject of hot dispute whether they followed Virgil or some other poet. It is a matter of little consequence for the present argument, since both sides assume that they followed somebody. Only I will observe that if the group were made in the age of Titus, and for that Roman emperor, they could hardly have avoided casting a glance on Virgil's lines; though the necessities of their art compelled them to differ from him in some particulars, especially in involving father and sons in the same serpent coils; without which a group would not have been possible. For the execution of such a work, great technical skill, a thorough knowledge of anatomy and of expression, were required. But these are things that come not of original genius, but are learnt by careful and accurate study, for which Rome at that period afforded the best opportunities in the world, from its

being filled with the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Grecian art. There was just as much, or more, scope for originality in the group of Apollo and Diana with the quadriga, which Lysias incontestably made for Augustus.¹

With respect to the second argument, where is the improbability that Agesander and his companions, or sons, should have lived at Rome? On the contrary, it is the most probable thing in the world that they should have been attracted thither, Rome being then the centre and metropolis of art, and the chief focus of patronage. Thus, as the passage above cited from Pliny shows, Aphrodisius, the Trallian, and Diogenes, the Athenian, were then working there; and doubtless a great many other foreigners besides the sculptors of the Laocoon. We hear a great deal of the excellence of Rhodian art a century or two before this period; but in fact, as before observed, little is known about it. The school of Rhodes seems to have been distinguished by its *colossi* more than anything else. Besides the enormous one seventy cubits high, one of the wonders of the world, there were a hundred others, smaller, indeed, but any of which would have made the reputation of another place.² This gives us a very high notion of the riches and resources of the Rhodians, but no very favourable idea of their taste. All that we know about the Athamas of Aristonidas is from Pliny.³ He was sitting in penitence after killing his son Learchus; and the artist had mixed iron with the bronze of which the statue was made, and so produced a redness in the cheeks like a blush, to manifest the shame he felt for his deed, a trick unworthy of high art. Nor is it easy to see how this single figure has any analogy with the Laocoon group, except in its pathos.

The argument that the Laocoon is the natural third

¹ Plin., *ibid.*, § 10.

² *Ibid.*, § 18.

³ "N. H.," xxxiv., 40.

step in the development of pathetic sculpture is founded on the habit before alluded to as prevalent in Germany of fixing the character of schools by hard and fast lines which it is thought impossible to overstep. There are no doubt some general characteristics which distinguish the different schools; otherwise the name of *school* would be meaningless. The first Attic school, or rather Pheidias, its head, was remarkable for dignity and grandeur, the second for beauty and grace, whilst the following one of Lysippus carried those qualities to an extreme. But such characteristics concern only the mode of treatment, and have nothing to do with the subjects chosen; in which lies the pathos. Will it be asserted that the age which witnessed the Agamemnon of Æschylus and the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles had no sentiment of the pathetic? These tragedies had possession of the stage when Pheidias wrought, and it would be strange, indeed, if we found no reflex of their pathos in works of art of the same period. But we know of several. Pheidias himself, as already mentioned, sculptured a wounded Amazon, and his contemporary, Cresilas, another, as well as the dying Diitrephes. Of the second Attic school we have the Niobë, which Overbeck considers to be more pathetic than the Laocoon; in which case that quality must have retrograded, instead of advancing. It would be difficult to point to any pathetic work by Lysippus and his school. Here, then, is a break in the assumed development of the pathetic; and a proof that it did not advance in the supposed continuous manner. The school of Pergamus, in which we next find it, did not, therefore, derive it by tradition, but from natural genius and an original turn; which shows that a peculiar style may originate in any school, and, indeed, in any individual. So the artists of the Laocoon may have executed a pathetic subject in

the reign of Titus, without being necessarily influenced by some immediate predecessor.

The argument from grouping I am quite unable to follow. What analogy is there between pedimental groups such as those of Pheidias, or that of the Niobë, which is, as will be shown, essentially pedimental, and round groups like the Toro Farnese and the Laocoon? Of the *symplegma* of Kephisodotus absolutely nothing is known with certainty but the name, which shows that it contained only two figures. How could this have been a development of the pedimental groups of Pheidias and Scopas? And what necessary connection has it with the Laocoon group? But it is needless to dwell on such reasoning.

Lastly, that Greek art underwent change in process of time was natural, and is admitted; but how general effect is sacrificed to detail in the Laocoon, I must confess myself unable to perceive, nor how it has any analogy with the florid rhetoric of the Diadochan period. If such a comparison might hold, there were florid writers enough in the time of the Cæsars, though, perhaps for that very reason, few of them have come down to us. The Laocoon, on the contrary, seems to me to be a very unaffected composition; and it is, perhaps, by virtue of this very quality that it so powerfully affects us. For there is no stronger antidote to the pathetic than affectation.

These arguments of Overbeck's resemble a spinning of cobwebs; but I have adverted to them because such a style of reasoning is not unusual with German critics on art. They remind me of a character which Lessing gives of his countrymen. "We Germans," he says, "have no want of systematic books. We understand as well as any nation in the world how to deduce whatever we like, and in the most beautiful order, from

the assumed explanation of a couple of words.”¹ It is to be regretted that a want of sober judgment in using the materials which they collect with such wonderful industry sometimes goes far to destroy their utility.

I will now turn to Overbeck's view of Laocoon's condition and the motive of the group. Laocoon, he says, is in the strongest action possible in a posture where the extremities were curbed and confined. This action springs solely from physical causes, and is uninfluenced by any mental agony. But it is an error to suppose that the purpose of it is to free himself from the serpent's coils. It cannot be too precisely asserted that Laocoon's movements are not made with any purpose whatever; they are caused exclusively by the overpowering and convulsing pain arising from the deadly bite of the serpent.

Overbeck then proceeds to examine at great length Laocoon's posture, limb by limb; of which examination I will here give the most material points. The left leg is stretched out with extreme tension of the muscles, but not to lift the body from its seat; for the foot is not planted straightly and firmly on the ground, but touches it only lightly with the ball, and in an oblique direction. Again, were he endeavouring to rise, the right leg, which is now bent, would have been used, with the sole of the foot placed firmly on the ground, which it does not quite touch, as the heel presses against the altar, whilst the toes are cramped and crooked. This shows mere involuntary movement caused by pain, and cannot be ascribed to any conscious determination. The same is the case with the left arm, which is genuine. From the pain of the bite, Laocoon has seized the serpent with left hand, but only as it were accidentally and

¹ “Laokoon, Vorrede,” S. vii.

convulsively, and evidently too far from its head to remove it effectually. It is only the right arm that appears to contradict my view, which is plainly endeavouring to remove the serpent. *But this arm was restored by Giovanni Montorsoli*, and is therefore no criterion; and that it was falsely restored is now universally recognized. The correct position of the right arm is shown in the accompanying drawing, with the tail of the serpent coiled round Laocoon's shoulder. It is not struggling against the reptile, but touches Laocoon's head in a slanting direction; and a mark on the hair, flattened by some modern chisel, proves that the hand originally rested there. Thus it shows, like the other extremities, only an involuntary movement, caused by pain. The same thing is shown by the writhings of the trunk, which in this point of view are masterly. They are merely the effect of extreme agony. The left side is drawn inwards, the right breast thrust forwards; the head thrown back towards the left shoulder. All the muscles are contracted, as if with the greatest exertion; which, however, is without result and without purpose. It is the struggling of a man hopelessly lost.

That the chief, though not perhaps quite the only motive of Laocoon's symptoms is physical pain may be conceded; but not that his action is devoid of purpose. It may also be admitted that he is not endeavouring to rise. In fact, he had no need to do so. He is seated on the altar, by which, as a *fulcrum*, his exertions are sustained. Were he to rise, he must let go the serpent which he is warding off with his left hand. Nay, even if he had the wish to do so, he would hardly have had the power; for—what Overbeck neglects to observe—one of the serpents has wound itself tightly round both his legs, and indeed round the right one in a double coil, above and below the knee, which would preclude

the straightening of the limb. May not Pliny's admiration of the serpent-coils, for which he has been ridiculed by some modern critics, have been raised, not as is supposed by their voluminous rings, but by the way in which they are so artfully disposed as to show the progress of the action, and the approach of the inevitable catastrophe? With the same skill the sculptors have avoided implicating the arms and hands in the coils. Nothing, as Lessing remarks, gives more life and expression to a composition than the movement of the hands. The hands and arms both of father and sons are in full activity, and hence the group derives the most picturesque animation; whilst had they been tightly bound, as Overbeck would make one of them, the subject would have been enveloped in frost and death.

But the burning question on which the judgment of the motive chiefly depends, is the right arm. Were it thrown back, as in Overbeck's cut, such a posture would undoubtedly add great force to the view that Laocoon is incapable of further resistance. Unfortunately the history of the restoration is obscure, and even contradictory;¹ but this much seems to be certain. As Overbeck says, the arm was restored by Giovannagnolo Montorsoli in 1532; but he neglects to add that there had been a previous restoration by Baccio Bandinelli in 1525, in wax.² On this account, no doubt, it was that Montorsoli was employed to replace it in marble. But he departed from Bandinelli's model, which had the right arm thrown back to the head, in the way advocated by Overbeck. That this was so, appears from a caricature made by Titian to ridicule Bandinelli; in which the father, who with the sons are represented as

¹ See the note in Fea's translation of Winckelmann, vol. ii., p. 244 (Roma, 1783).

² Vasari, "Vite," t. iv., p. 126, and p. 500 (Firenze, 1822).

apes, has his arm in that position.¹ The caricature must have been taken during the seven years that the waxen arm remained; and its position no doubt gave occasion to the ridicule. The best artists of the period joined in it, and Benvenuto Cellini wrote a lampoon on Bandinelli. In Titian's picture, the group is in a landscape, and in the middle distance is some animal, apparently a bear, chased by two dogs, meant probably for the painter himself and Cellini pursuing poor Baccio. Montorsoli was a favourite pupil of Michelangelo's, and doubtless had the approbation of that great sculptor in changing the posture of the arm. Bandinelli's restoration may have caused the mark said to be visible on Laocoon's hair. It must be a very slight one, for a minute examination seems necessary to discover it; and whilst Canova called it a projection, Overbeck, who appears to speak of it only from hearsay,² styles it a flattening (*eine Fläche*). So slight a mark may have been caused in removing the wax, which, after a period of seven years, must have adhered pretty firmly to the marble; or it may have been made by the same accident which carried away the arm.

Montorsoli, then, and the other great artists of that period, were of opinion that the Laocoon was meant to show a violent struggle with the serpents; and such also was the view of the eminent surgical authority whom I have before quoted respecting the Dying Gaul. In answer to the remarks of Payne Knight, who, in his "Essay on Taste," had taken much the same view as Winckelmann, Sir Chas. Bell says: "The writer has had the impression, which all who look on the statue must have, that Laocoon suffers in silence, that there is no outcry. But the

¹ Engraved in Rosini, "Storia della Pittura Italiana," t. v., p. 67, where also is some account of the affair.

² Wieseler, note in Müller's "Denkmäler," vol. i., p. 40.

aim of the artist is mistaken. He did not mean to express 'energy and fortitude of mind,' or, 'by expanding the breast and compressing the throat to show that he suffers in silence.' His design was to express *corporeal exertion*, the attitude and struggles of the body and of the arms. The throat is inflated, the chest straining to give power to the muscles of the arms, while the slightly parted lips show that no breath escapes, or at most a low hollow groan. He could not roar like a bull,—he had not power to push his breath out in the very moment of the great exertion of his arms to untwist the serpent which is coiled around him. It is a mistake to suppose that the suppressed voice and the consent of the features with the exertion of the frame, proceed from an effort of the mind to sustain his pain in dignified silence; for this condition of the arms, chest and face are necessary parts of one action.

"The instant that the chest is depressed to vociferate or bellow, the muscles arising from the ribs and inserted into the arm bones must be relaxed, and the exertion of the arms becomes feeble. Again, in speaking or exclaiming, a consent runs through all the respiratory muscles; those of the mouth and throat combine with those which move the chest. Had the sculptors represented Laocoon as if the sound flowed from his open mouth, there would have been a strange inconsistency with the elevated condition of his breast. Neither is it correct to suppose it possible (as Payne Knight had done) that a man struck down with a mortal wound, and rolling in the dust, like Homer's ill-fated heroes, can roar out like a bull. A mortal wound has an immediate influence on these vital parts and respiratory organs, and the attempt to cry aloud would end in a feeble wail or groan. There is no danger that the tragedian who follows nature should offend the taste of an audience by actual outcry. But these critics think it necessary to refine and go beyond

nature, whereas the rule is to learn her ways, and to be cautious of adding the slightest trait of expression, or what we conceive to be such, to the simple, and because simple, the grand character of natural action; instead of making the appeal more strongly to the senses, it is sure to weaken it." ¹

Bell, then, is at one with Overbeck, that Laocoon's expression arises entirely, or mostly, from physical pain; they also agree that all the muscles of the body are in the most violent action; but whilst Bell attributes this to Laocoon's efforts to extricate himself from the serpent-coils, Overbeck thinks, on the contrary, that it is nothing but the involuntary result of exquisite torture, the mere nervous crispations of a man who has lost all power of action. Now we have in the group itself the means of forming a judgment on this point by comparison. It is admitted on all hands that the younger son, on Laocoon's right, is in a state of collapse. The deadly poison has done its work, and he is about to give up the ghost. But what a contrast between his figure and that of the father! The limbs are flaccid, and have lost all power of muscular action; he has no longer any strength to struggle against his fate. To suppose the father to be in the same condition is not only contradicted by all appearances, but would also be an unpardonable fault in art. Luckily Overbeck has favoured us with a cut of these two figures as he would have them. Can anything be more tame and insipid? Both are *hors de combat*, and in precisely the same attitudes. The elder son is not given in the drawing, but is of course supposed to be in the condition represented in the group. He offers a com-

¹ "The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression," p. 193 *seq.* Henke, a German physiologist, quoted by Overbeck ("Plastik," B. ii., S. 269, Anm., No. 57), thinks that Laocoon is drawing in his breath (der Augenblick des schluchzen-

den Einziehens des Athems gemeint ist), which agrees with Bell's view. For in so doing he could utter no cry, while it would aid him in putting forth the strength of his arms by inflating the chest, as we see it in the statue.

plete contrast to his father and brother. He has not yet been bitten, but the serpent has begun to twist his coils around him. His face and action betray not physical pain, but mental agony and alarm. He looks up at his agonized father with a mixture of terror and compassion, and while with his left hand he tries to unloose the serpent from his ankle, the uplifted right and expanded fingers show the extremity of his horror and despair. We thus see in the three figures the beginning, the middle, and the end of the catastrophe. With regard to mere technical art, it has sometimes been contended that the arm of the father when bent back, gives finer lines than when erected. This is very much a matter of taste; but for myself I must confess that the fine diagonal line formed by the uplifted right arm and extended left leg forms an agreeable, I had almost said an indispensable contrast to the many curves in the group. And Winckelmann was of opinion that the arm covered with serpent coils and placed near the head, would have been prejudicial to the work, by diverting the spectator's attention from the head.¹

I have not yet adverted to the mouth, an essential factor in the expression. Down to recent times, it has been considered not sufficiently opened to give vent to any loud exclamation. Such was the opinion of Winckelmann and Lessing, who founded different theories on this very circumstance, with whom Bell coincides in the passage just quoted, and I believe most other writers on the subject. It is a point, however, on which every spectator of the statue may form a judgment for himself. F. G. Welcker and Brunn assert that the mouth is sufficiently open to utter a cry of woe; but their words do not necessarily imply any very loud one,² and Bell ad-

¹ "Storia," &c., lib. x., c. 1, § 11.

Welcker. "deutliche, vernehmliche

² "Angst und Klaggeschrei." — Schmerzenslaute." — Brunn. Which

mits that he may give vent to a low, hollow groan. But Overbeck very much outdoes these writers, and affirms that the marble Laocoon agrees in this point with Virgil's "*Clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit*," except only that the woe-cry, though as loud, is not wild and inarticulate like the bellowing of a wounded bull. And he seeks to establish this view in a note which completely demolishes it. "Incomparably more plain," he says, "and in fact quite unmistakable is the bellowing in the Ahremberg head and the Bernini one in the Spada Palace. And as the sculptors of these heads worked after the Laocoon as a model, it at least appears plain what *they* recognized in the Vatican statue." The roaring, then, is not very easily to be found in the original, but in two exaggerated copies of it! Overbeck himself acknowledges this to be the case in the head in the possession of the Duke of Ahremberg, in which the mouth is opened so widely as to show the lower teeth; a thing hardly to be seen in any genuine ancient work. This head, if really antique, is at least as late as the time of Hadrian; the Bernini one is of course modern.¹ We need not, therefore, trouble ourselves about either. And I will only further observe, that if Laocoon is really uttering such loud and intelligible vociferations, I do not quite see how that is compatible with the state of utter prostration in which he is said to be.

Besides the mouth, Overbeck and other German writers enter upon an elaborate examination of the other features, criticizing every wrinkle of the forehead, every furrow of the cheeks, in order further to determine the expression. It having been universally agreed that its predominant character is that of physical pain, I shall not here pursue a search which can add little or nothing

are not more than Bell's low groan. See Overbeck, "*Plastik*," ii., S. 220.

¹ Overbeck, ii., 206; and notes 40, 41, and 56 to Book V.

to that view, and will only observe that what other emotion can be detected in the face seems to me to be anxiety for his own fate and that of his sons. Such a feeling is quite compatible with extreme bodily agony, so long as it has not entirely overpowered the consciousness of the sufferer.

It is sometimes attempted to determine the motive and composition of ancient statues and groups by comparing them with engraved gems. I will not deny that such a method may sometimes be of use in suggesting the restoration of mutilated works; as, for instance, the *Toro Farnese*, to which I have applied it. But it cannot always be implicitly followed. It is well known that ancient engravers, and copyists in general, often took some celebrated work for their model, and while retaining its essential motive, took the liberty of altering it in some particulars, either from fancy and caprice, or from the necessity of the case. This last must have frequently occurred in gem-engraving, where the size and form of the stone would often necessitate some change. In such a process, the uplifted arm of *Laocoon* would have been especially liable to alteration, in order to suit the form of the gem. A seal appended to an English legal document, bearing the date of 1529, discovered not long ago, has an impression of the *Laocoon* group from an intaglio gem, showing *Laocoon's* right arm thrown back to his head. Mr. King, who is a great authority in such matters, takes the gem to be an ancient Greek work. I have the greatest respect for that gentleman's opinion, but must confess that I agree with Mr. Smirke in thinking that a conclusion drawn, not from the gem itself, but from a wax impression three or four centuries old, must be very far from certain. It is, however, urged that even admitting the gem to be of Italian workmanship, the date of 1529, at which it was used, only twenty-three years

after the discovery of the group in 1506, shows it to have been executed before the restoration was in any way prejudged.¹ But as the group on its discovery was imperfect, the position given to the right arm can have been only a matter of fancy. And it has been seen that Bandinelli had restored the group in 1525, in all probability as in the gem; which restoration lasted till Montorsoli's in 1532; so that the engraver may very well have copied it before 1529. This is the more probable from the gem being in England just at that period, as the discovery of so fine a group would naturally cause a great demand for copies of it.

I will now briefly advert to some criticisms that have been passed on the motive of the group, and its fitness for sculpture. These depend on the source from which the work is taken, which are principally two: Virgil, and the account given by Hyginus, probably taken from Sophocles' play of "Laocoon," of which only a few fragments remain. For we may put Quintus Calaber, adduced by Lessing, out of the question, not from his age, for he may have copied some older poet, but because he represents only the sons as killed by the serpents.

Visconti, assuming that the group was taken from Virgil, censured it as immoral, because Laocoon is slain by Minerva for performing an act of patriotism. But this is judging the work from the modern, not from the ancient point of view. The pagan gods took as warm a part in the affairs of men as they themselves did; and often, like them, from mere caprice, or the most trifling, and sometimes most immoral, motives. This tale of Troy itself is an example. The gods took different sides, one of which must surely have been wrong. But woe to those who opposed their will! which was not to

¹ See the Introduction to a translation of Lessing's "Laokoon" ("Select

Prose Works of Lessing," Bell and Sons, 1879).

be questioned. "*Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas.*" The Trojans, however, being the offenders, the gods who took part against them were on the moral side, and thus there is no immorality in removing an obstacle to their fall. But to make an artist responsible for the morality of a work taken from a great poet seems to me to be a wrong view of art, and a confounding of the functions of the painter or sculptor with those of the poet. The latter should no doubt be very careful in the choice of his plot, which would offend were it altogether immoral and repulsive. But even here there are degrees. A plot may be very touching, although not strictly moral; for after all we are but men, and willing to make some allowance for the frailty of human nature. Virgil's description had already obtained the approbation of the public, and it is a strange sort of prudery that would forbid its reproduction in art.

The version of Hyginus (or Sophocles) gives the tale quite a different complexion. According to this, Laocoon, brother of Aneises and priest of Apollo, had married contrary to the commands of that deity, and having been chosen by lot to make a sacrifice to Neptune on the sea shore, Apollo seized the occasion to send two serpents to kill his sons, and when he went to their aid they killed him also. The Trojans, who could not tell what deity had sent them, thought it was to punish him for having opposed the entrance of the wooden horse.

Here there can be no question of morality, for Laocoon is punished for disobeying the commands of the god whom he served. But Overbeck, who assumes the group to have been taken from this version of the story, brings many objections against it, and decides that though the subject may have been a tragic one in the play of Sophocles, it is not such in the sculpture, but only pathetic, and indeed of an ignoble pathos. This view, therefore,

rests on an arbitrary assumption of the source of the group, which, however, is consonant with Overbeck's opinion concerning its date; but if it was of the age of Titus, as I have endeavoured to show, it may probably have been taken from Virgil, or the myth which he followed, which gives the matter quite a different moral.

The following are the principal objections urged by Overbeck under the former assumption: Suffering is tragic only when it is in just proportion to the crime to be expiated, otherwise it only excites disgust, instead of pity. The same is the case when the punishment follows the sin at too long an interval, as here, or when the sin is not clearly indicated. This indication could be given in the play, but not in the group; which therefore is not tragic, but only pathetic. Its pathos also is ignoble, because it consists almost entirely in bodily pain. All this is different in the Niobë, which is one of the most tragic of ancient works in sculpture.

In this distinction between the tragic and the pathetic, Aristotle's theory is, of course, held in view. Now that critic lays it down that a catastrophe in which the sufferer is punished for an involuntary and unwitting offence, is the most tragic of all—that is, an *ἀμαρτία*, like that of Thyestes or Œdipus, and not a *μοχθηρία*, or voluntary crime. According to the Sophoclean version, Laocoon committed a deliberate offence against Apollo, and is, therefore, justly punished. But if we turn to Virgil's version, which we have a perfect, and perhaps a superior right to do, the sin, if such it can be called, was an unwitting one. Laocoon broke no divine commandment; he could scarcely even be aware that he was offending a god by his act of patriotism; or if he was aware that the gods took different sides, he would have felt that, if he was offending one, he was propitiating another; which amounts to a justification of putting the gods altogether out of the question. He has, how-

ever, incurred retribution for his act, because he has offended one, though without any ill intention, and perhaps even without his knowledge. This surely is both fearful and pitiable (*φοβερόν καὶ ἐλεεινόν*), which, according to Aristotle, constitute the very essence of tragedy. But will the spectator really find that the group makes any very different impression upon him, according as he adopts one version or the other? Will the man who has sympathized with the group when he thought it founded on Virgil's description, lose all that sympathy should he afterwards become persuaded that it is taken from the play of Sophocles? Or, *vice versâ*, in that case acquire a sympathy he had not felt before? The chances rather are that, in meditating on such recondite views, he will find his sympathy with either story evaporate altogether.

The Niobë group may be somewhat more tragic than the Laocoon, supposing the latter to be taken from Sophocles; for though the children in both are equally innocent, the mental grief of Niobë at beholding their fate may be more touching than the bodily agony of Laocoon, though I do not think that his expression is wholly devoid of anxiety for his children. On the other hand, if the Laocoon group be taken from Virgil, or a more ancient poet whom he copied, it is the more tragic, because he perishes not through a deliberate act, like Niobë, but an error.

As for the objections that for a story to be tragic its connection must be seen, that the sin must be clearly indicated for which the punishment is incurred, and must follow soon after it, which is not done in the Laocoon of the Sophoclean myth, I will observe that such criticism loses sight of a fundamental principle in art, namely, that as it is essentially imitative, it can only *recall* a story, which therefore, as before observed,

must be a well-known one: a principle that cannot be too strongly insisted on. And Overbeck, in comparing the group with the Sophoclean play, and deciding that the latter is tragic, as it shows the cause, and the former not, for want of it, has fallen into the fault denounced by Lessing, of confounding the methods of poetry and art. It is no doubt an advantage when the progress of a story can be shown in art without violating one of its essential principles, the unity of the subject; but this could not have been done in the present instance, and very rarely in any other. Further, if the group be taken from the Virgilian version, the punishment follows almost immediately on the crime, and is not liable on that score to Overbeck's criticism.

With regard to the remark that suffering is tragic only when it is in just proportion to the crime, I would ask who shall decide that point, especially where the gods are concerned? The sin of Niobë, for which not only she but also her numerous innocent children, suffered so dreadful a retribution, broke no divine commandment. Is that in just proportion to the sin? Rather, is it not a great deal more disproportioned than Laocoon's punishment, looking at his story from the same point of view as Overbeck, that he, a priest of Apollo, and, therefore, doubly bound to observe the god's behests, had wilfully broken them?

Lastly, as to the objection that the pathos of the Laocoon is ignoble (*unedel*, p. 228) because it consists almost exclusively in bodily suffering, it may be asked, why is such suffering ignoble? That only is ignoble which arises from some base and mean act; but bodily agony may be the lot of all. A tragic catastrophe must necessarily turn on suffering and death; and if we would forbid the exhibition of it in sculpture, we should deprive it of its chief means of appealing to our sympathy,

and banish from our museums the many fine statues already alluded to which consist of such suffering. I will freely admit that where the inevitable result can be clearly indicated, while its actual exhibition is avoided, it may be even more touching and pathetic; and this it is that makes the picture of Medea the most tragic in the world. But how few are the subjects that admit of such a treatment! It may be doubted whether the Medea could be represented with equal effect in sculpture, and it is certain that it has never been attempted, though the subject is of the highest tragic interest. Painting here asserts the pre-eminence I have claimed for it over sculpture in its capability of telling a story.

It is said that many people, and Dannecker among them, dislike the Laocoon group, thinking it repulsive. It is conceivable that some persons of very fine feelings and delicate nerves may have that aversion; for my part I must confess that I am much more repelled by the brutality of the Toro Farnese group, which seems to be now preferred before it. How many persons look with complacency on pictures of the crucifixion, or of horrible martyrdoms, when executed by a master hand, though they are much more repulsive than the Laocoon! It is surely a strange thought of Overbeck's that this aversion may be mitigated by compassion for the children; for the fate of those innocents should, it seems to me, only heighten our disgust. This, however, is looking on the work from the modern point of view, and not that of the ancients, who were accustomed to the idea of whole houses destroyed by the sins of their heads, and the wrath of offended deities. This is also seen in the Niobë group, with a greater number of victims. I am glad, however, to see that this aversion is diminished by Montorsoli's restoration of Laocoon's right arm; ¹ which is no

¹ "Ein in uns aufsteigender geheimes Grauen . . . das sicherlich mehr und

mean proof of its correctness. We are not told the reason of this diminution; but we may suppose it is because Laocoon is thus taken out of his utterly prostrate condition, and some hope still left for him.

On the whole I must confess that, in spite of these recent attempts to depreciate the group, my opinion of its excellence remains unshaken; and that I should be inclined so far to endorse Pliny's opinion, which was no doubt also that of the leading connoisseurs of his time, that if not absolutely the best work, whether in sculpture or painting, it must at least be put in the very first rank.

Such a work could not have been produced except where sculpture was in a flourishing state; and it is well known that during the last century of the Republic an excellent school of sculpture was established at Rome, which lasted down to the time of the Antonines. The Romans, after their conquest of Greece, imbibed a strong taste for art, which made them liberal patrons of it, and hence Greek artists flocked from all parts to Rome. That city, as before observed, abounded with fine statues, mostly acquired by plunder, and thus became a sort of metropolis for art, and an excellent school for the study of it. To this we owe the many copies of ancient Greek statues which still adorn the galleries of Europe. Rome was at length much despoiled of its artistic treasures to adorn Constantinople, and many fine statues were destroyed in the anti-pagan crusade of Theodosius.¹ It may be observed that, in the earlier days of conquest, the Romans do not appear to have desecrated the temples of Greece by carrying off the sculp-

mehr hervortritt, je länger und je tiefer wir uns in die Darstellung hinein denken; namentlich wenn wir uns gewöhnen von der die ganze Situation verändernden Restauration Montorsoli's

abzusehen und uns den Laokoon so vorzustellen, wie die alten Künstler ihn gemacht hatten."—"Plastik," ii., S. 225.

¹ Mengs, "Opere," t. ii., p. 20.

tures which adorned them. The pediments and friezes of the Parthenon, of the temple at Ægina, and others, remained un plundered down to modern times. But at a later date, and in places out of Greece they do not seem to have been so scrupulous, and thus we find that the Niobë group was brought to Rome, which doubtless originally adorned some Asiatic temple. After the best and most portable of the more public works had been carried off, the Romans began to invade and plunder domestic hearths. The process is described by Juvenal:—

“Plena domus tunc omnis, et ingens stabat acervus
Nummorum, Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa,
Et cum Parrhasii tabulis signisque Myronis
Phidiaeum vivebat ebur, nec non Polyclitii.
Multus ubique labor; raræ sine Mentore mensæ.
Inde Dolabella, atque hinc Antonius, inde
Sacrilegus Verres referebant navibus altis
Occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos.

* * * * *
Ipsi deinde Lares, si quod spectabile signum,
Si quis in ædícula deus unicus (eripiatur).”

“Sat.,” viii. 100 *seq.*

Thus, Greece and other provinces having been pretty well stripped of their finest works, the Cæsars, and others patrons of art, were compelled to supply their wants by employing the most excellent of the artists who had taken up their abode at Rome.

Of these later sculptures I shall mention only a few, some of which were executed in the provinces. There is in the Louvre a statue sometimes called Germanicus, by Cleomenes the younger, supposed to be the son of the sculptor of the Venus de' Medici. But this is improbable, for other reasons besides the date. Winckelmann observes that it is not certain whether the head is genuine;¹ for it bears no resemblance to the head of Germanicus in the Capitoline Museum. He hints that the tortoise at his feet may be the symbol of Hermes;

¹ Vol. ii., p. 338 (Fea).

but it is certainly not that deity. Müller thinks that it is a statue of some Greek or Roman orator, to whom that symbol has been added,¹ and that it has little life, whilst Overbeck calls it very expressive. The head, however, is decidedly Roman, and it has all the appearance of a portrait, with little or no idealization.

The Knife-whetter, or *Arrotino*, called also *Lo Spione*, in the Tribune of the Uffizi, is now thought to have formed part of a group with Apollo and Marsyas. Winkelmann adduces an engraved gem where a Scythian slave, for such the figure in question seems to be, was placed before Marsyas. The same appeared in a bas-relief in S. Paolo fuori le mura. He was probably looking up to Apollo for directions.²

The Borghese Combatant in the Louvre was the work of Agasias of Ephesus, a sculptor known only by this inscription. This admirable statue was found at Capo d'Anzo at the same time as the Belvedere Apollo. It shows a perfect knowledge of anatomy, and cannot therefore be placed at a very early date. Attempts have been made to identify it with some hero, but it has nothing of the ideal. It is simply a combatant well exercised in his art, defending himself apparently from the attacks of a horseman.

A group in the Villa Ludovisi, by Menelaus, a pupil of Stephanus, and therefore of the imperial times, has been variously interpreted as Theseus and Æthra, Electra and Orestes, Penelopë and Telemachus; but Jahn's view seems to be now pretty generally accepted, that it is Meropë recognizing her son Æpytus, whom she was about to kill;³ and this, at all events, is equal to the others. The female figure is dignified, and the drapery fine; the son far inferior.

¹ "Archæologie," p. 167.

Galleria di Firenze," and the "Cata-

² See the Abate Zannoni, "Reale logo," p. 56. ³ "Archæol.," p. 167.

Many portrait statues and busts of the Roman imperial times have come down to us, and are valuable not only as likenesses of remarkable persons, but also sometimes for their merit as works of art. Portraits of the first and greatest of the Cæsars are rare. The best, perhaps, is the bronze bust in the Villa Ludovisi, a thoughtful, careworn head, typical of the penalties that accompany ambition and grandeur. There is a statue of him as Pontifex Maximus in the Museo Chiaramonti. Of his great rival Pompey there is a celebrated colossal statue in the Palazzo Spada at Rome, thought to be the identical one at the feet of which Cæsar fell. There is a fine statue of Augustus, armed with a richly ornamented breastplate, in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. The charming youthful bust of him, also in the Vatican, reminds one of the first Napoleon. Is it wholly improbable that an irregular scion of the Cæsars may have found his way to Corsica, and that the French emperors may owe their descent to the Roman? There is another fine bronze head of the adult Augustus in the Vatican library. Statues and busts of other emperors, and especially of Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antonius Pius, are of frequent occurrence. These statues are commonly clothed; but Hadrian, who by predilection was half an Athenian, and delighted in statues, particularly his own, is often represented entirely naked. I shall only further mention the bust of Cæsar's murderer, Marcus Brutus, at Naples, a truly assassin-like physiognomy; that of Agrippa in the first corridor of the Uffizi, and the somewhat colossal head of Cicero in the same collection (Sala delle Iscrizioni). The seated statue of Agrippina in the Neapolitan Museum presents a rare combination of dignity and easy grace. A light drapery covers, but displays, her form. There is a similar statue in the Museo Capitolino. Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi,

was similarly represented in a statue extant in Pliny's time.¹

Equestrian statues were more common among the Romans than the Greeks, and we have but few remains of them. The finest specimen extant is that of Marcus Aurelius on the Roman Capitol. The horse is of somewhat Flemish breed, but executed with such fire and truth to nature as to excite the admiration of Michelangelo. The head and gesture of the rider are extremely noble.

¹ "N. H.," xxxiv. 14.

SECTION IV.

ON ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE, PEDIMENTS, FRIEZES, BAS-RELIEF.

IT has been before observed (*supra*, 136) that sculpture makes most approach to painting in bas-relief and in pedimental groups, which are analogous to bas-relief, as to the power of presenting an historical subject, and at the same time some disadvantages attending the method have been pointed out. From the nature of the case, there are but few extant remains of subjects in architectural sculpture. They, and the buildings which they adorned, have yielded to the effects of time and tempest and war; to the destructive rage of barbarians, the superstitious fury of iconoclasts, the greed of the degenerate progeny whose ancestors erected them, and the spoliation of the more civilized amateurs of art who have in our own days carried them off to decorate their museums. Pedimental sculptures, whose composition we know with any approach to accuracy, and of which there are any remains, may be counted on the fingers. Those which are interesting only from an archaeological point of view fall not within the scope of this work; and I shall, therefore, confine my remarks to a few of the best-known and preserved.

The sculptures of the Parthenon first claim our attention. Of the figures of the eastern and principal pediment, representing the Birth of Athena, little remains but what may be seen in the British Museum, and Mr. Newton has fully described them. Many attempts have been made to reconstruct the missing parts of the com-

position; but into these, which are only more or less plausible guesses, I shall not enter. But in 1674 the sculptures of the western pediment were tolerably perfect. The French artist, Carrey, who visited Athens at that date, made drawings of them, which are still preserved.¹ A few years afterwards they were seen by the travellers, Spon and Wheler; and Wheler has given a curious and interesting description of them in his "Journey." He made, however, a strange mistake. He took this western pediment to be the principal one, and accordingly thought that the sculptures represented the Birth of Athena, instead of her contest with Poseidon for the Attic supremacy. It is still more strange that this mistake should have remained undetected for upwards of a century. Leake adopted Wheler's view in the first edition of his "Topography of Athens," and it was only at last corrected by Quatremère de Quincy.

As Wheler's book is now rather scarce, I will here insert his description, as follows: "There is a figure that stands in the middle, having its right arm broken, which probably held the thunder. Its legs straddle at some distance from each other, where, without doubt, was placed the Eagle. For its beard, and the majesty which the sculptor hath expressed in his countenance, although those other characters be wanting here, do sufficiently show it to have been made for Jupiter. He stands naked, for so he was usually represented, especially by the Greeks. At his right hand is another figure, with its hands and arms broken off, covered half way down the leg, in a posture as coming towards Jupiter, which perhaps was a Victory, leading the horses of the triumphal chariot of Minerva, which follows it. The horses are made with such great art that the sculptor seems to have outdone himself by giving them

¹ There is a copy of them in the Print Room of the British Museum.

a more than seeming life; such a vigour is expressed in each posture of their prancing and stamping, natural to generous horses. Minerva is next represented in the chariot, rather as the goddess of *learning* than *war*, without helmet, buckler, or a Medusa's head on her breast, as Pausanias describes her image within the temple. Next behind her is another figure of a woman, sitting, with her head broken off. Who it was is not certain. But my companion made me observe the next two figures sitting in the corner to be the Emperor Hadrian and his Empress Sabina; whom I easily knew to be so by the many models and statues I have seen of them."

"At the left hand of Jupiter are five or six other figures, my companion taketh to be an assembly of the gods, where Jupiter introduceth Minerva, and owneth her for his daughter. The *postick*, or hind part, was adorned with figures expressing Minerva's combat with Neptune about the naming of the city of Athens; but now all of them are fallen down, only part of a sea-horse excepted."¹

From the likeness between the brothers, and the absence of any attributes, it was pardonable enough to mistake Poseidon for Zeus; but it is extraordinary that Athena, who, both from size and position in the centre of the pediment, could be nothing but a principal figure, should have been thought to be her chariot-driver, Nikē; or that Poseidon, whose attitude, as seen in Carrey's drawing, shows evident rage, should have been compatible with the idea of that figure complacently introducing the new-born goddess to the rest of the gods. The curious anachronism of recognizing Hadrian and Sabina among the gods in the train of Athena may be no mistake of Wheeler's. He had learning enough to know that they could not have been con-

¹ Wheeler's "Journey," p. 360.

temporary with Pheidias; and explains the matter by assuming that Ictinus built only the cella of the temple, that Attalus added the porticoes, and Hadrian the sculptures in both pediments! Perhaps the following may be a more probable explanation: The Romans had a barbarous custom of decapitating fine Grecian statues, and putting their own heads, or those of their friends, upon them. It is not at all improbable that Hadrian, whose vanity and self-love were unbounded, may have desired to immortalize himself and his consort by placing their portraits on a work of Pheidias. At Athens, Hadrian usurped the title of Zeus; and the statues which he caused to be erected to himself in that city of his predilection are innumerable.

The subject of the Western Pediment, as shown in Carrey's drawing, has been variously interpreted. Mr. Newton has given a full description of it, and of the fragments which remain, together with a table showing the various identifications of the statues, in his "Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon." The main question, as regards art, is, what moment of the action did Pheidias select for representation? Preller was of opinion that it was the moment immediately following the decision in favour of Athena. In this view Welcker concurred.¹ Some writers, however, have held that the verdict has not yet been pronounced, and that the two deities are still in the heat of the strife, and from their postures almost ready, apparently, to come to blows.² I must confess my preference for the former opinion. Pheidias would scarcely have left so important a contest, represented, too, on the great temple of Athena, undecided, but would surely have shown her victory, as the patron and eponymous goddess of Athens. As to

¹ "Giebel-gruppen," S. 129.

Watkiss Lloyd in the "Classical Museum," No. 18.

² See especially a paper by Mr. W.

their postures, they are evidently both turning away to enter their chariots, as they naturally would do when the contest was ended. From the mutilated state of Athena's figure, and especially from the loss of the head, it is impossible to interpret the motive of the statue with any certainty; but, from the fragment of the neck, she seems to have been casting a look on Poseidon, probably one of triumph. Poseidon's attitude and expression are more plain. He evidently feels the rage and disappointment of defeat.

Of the other figures some are pretty certain. It is assuredly Nikē that drives the chariot of Athena. That the figures beyond her are Persephonē, Iacchus, and Demeter, according to Welcker's view, is at least highly probable. From the intimate connection of the Eleusian deities with Athens, they would naturally be chosen to represent the land of Attica, but other names have been given to them. The rest of the figures on this side are more doubtful. The figure behind the horses has been variously called Ares, Erectheus, &c. I take it to be more probably Kekrops,¹ which name is given to it by Visconti. As judge of the contest he would surely be present, and from his attitude he seems to be intimating to Nikē the victory of Athena. The seated figure, often called Kekrops, is too remote and too indifferent for that character. The figures next to Demeter are identified by Welcker as Heracles and Hebē, whilst others have called them Kekrops and Agraulos. I take them to be Erichonios and Pandrosos, who shared the Erechtheum with him. The reclining figure in the left angle has been taken for Cranaos or the Ilissus. It is doubtless a river god, and being on the side of Athena, I should incline to take it for the Kephissus,² which flows past so many olive groves, Athena's tree.

¹ See Dyer's "Athens," p. 402.

² Ibid.

On the side of Poseidon are the water gods: Amphitritë, in her car, drawn by sea-monsters, can hardly be mistaken. The figures next to her are probably Ino and Melikertes. Aphroditë, naked, attended by Eros, and sitting in the lap of her mother, Dionë, may be pretty certainly recognized, though other names have been given to them. The female figure in the angle is probably Callirrhoë; the other, before Amphitritë, is of course a marine goddess, and has been variously styled Thëtis, Thalassa, and Leucothea. The names of the female and male figures beyond Dionë can only be conjectured. The male may perhaps be Ægeus, who was sometimes reputed to be identical with Poseidon, as being father of Theseus.¹ In the space on the left of Poseidon may probably have been his chariot and horses.

My business here, however, is with the way in which the story of the contest between Athena and Poseidon is represented. It was a peculiarly interesting subject for an Athenian. The animated gestures of the two principal figures show their heat and animosity; yet the attendant gods, from the necessity of their position, display little or no interest in the event. The joy of victory is not exhibited by those in the train of Athena, nor is there any visible disappointment in those of the vanquished deity. Some, indeed, are looking quite out of the scene, and appear to be utterly regardless of what is going on. The subject would have afforded an excellent opportunity for a painter to have disposed in well-arranged groups the partisans of either god, and to have depicted in their faces and gestures their exultation or their sorrow. But the boundaries and constraint of a pediment rendered this impossible even for a Pheidias.

We may, then, perhaps draw the conclusion that any complicated historical subject is unfit for pedimental

¹ See Dyer's "Athens," p. 57.

sculpture. By *complicated*, I mean where, besides the figures actually engaged in the action, others are introduced as interested spectators, like the chorus in a Greek play. Hence compositions where only the actors are shown are best for pediments. Such are representations of battles, which tell no particular story, and where the different postures of the combatants, and the figures of the falling and the slain, allow of their being disposed with a natural effect on the angular ground. Such is the case with the pediments of the Æginetan Temple. Another subject which, though not a battle, is particularly well fitted for such a place, is that of Niobë and her children, who are falling by the darts of Apollo; for here no other personages are introduced but the actual sufferers. But whether the extant, though imperfect, group now in the Uffizi, at Florence, was arranged in a pediment is a subject of dispute, and the opinion of modern critics, or at all events of many German ones, inclines to the negative. Before entering on that question, I will say a few words about the origin of the group.

The only ancient authority we have on the subject is a meagre notice in Pliny, who merely says that it was a doubtful point whether the dying children of Niobë, in the temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome, were the work of Scopas or Praxiteles.¹ From these words it cannot be strictly proved that Niobë herself was represented, or indeed that there was any group at all. They only necessarily imply that there must have been two or

¹ "Par hæsitatio est in templo Apollinis Sosiani Niobæ liberos morientes Scopas an Praxiteles fecerit."—"N. H.," xxxvi., 4, 8. This emended reading is doubtless the true one, instead of "*Nioben cum liberis morientem*," because Niobë did not die with her chil-

dren; and because there was no doubt, as I shall show, about the authorship of Niobë herself. And this reading is accepted by Overbeck, and I believe by all German critics. See Overbeck's "Schriftquellen," No. 1180.

more of her children. But from the discovery in 1583, in a vineyard on the road leading from S. John Lateran to the Porta Maggiore at Rome, of the statues now extant in the Uffizi at Florence, it cannot be doubted that such a group existed, though Pliny, in his usual compendious manner, has not clearly indicated it.

Overbeck mistranslated Pliny's words as follows:—"There is a like doubt whether *Niobë with her dying children*, in the temple of Apollo Sosianus, is the work of Scopas or Praxitelës."¹ Here the doubt is made to turn on Niobë herself, as well as her children. But this is certainly wrong. The late Professor Stark, in his book on the Niobë group, accepts the emended readings of Pliny, and rightly confines the doubt about the authorship to the children.²

I will here propose a view which may perhaps help to explain the matter. It is well known that Scopas and Praxiteles often worked in company. Thus they were employed, together with Bryaxis, Leochares, and perhaps Timotheus, on the Mausoleum.³ It has also been seen (*supra*, p. 188), that they worked in conjunction in the Temple of Aphroditë at Megara. It is highly probable, therefore, that the Niobë group was their joint work; but that, after the lapse of ages, it could not be told to which of them the children, or, perhaps more strictly, those that were actually dying, were to be attributed. It can hardly be imagined that the authorship

¹ "Gleicher Zweifel besteht darüber, ob die Niobe mit ihren sterbenden Kindern, welche im Tempel des Apollo Sosianus ist, ein Werk des Scopas oder des Praxiteles sei."—"Plastik," B. ii., S. 51 (2^{te} Auflage, 1870). In this translation Overbeck follows the old reading, although in his "Schriftquellen," a most useful work, published two years previously, he had adopted the emended one.

There seems to be little use in collecting ancient authorities if they are to be mistranslated in this manner.

² "Niobe und die Niobiden," p. 119, where the various readings are given.

³ Vitruv., vii., "Præf.," 12. Pliny, "N. H.," xxxvi., 4, 9, has Timotheus instead of Praxiteles; whilst Vitruvius says that some persons also mentioned Timotheus; *i.e.*, besides the other four.

of so famous a group, which had been brought to Rome only some century before Pliny's time, should have been unknown. That it was the joint work of Scopas and Praxiteles had been handed down by tradition, but their respective shares had not been specified. It was known, however, that the statue of Niobē herself was from the hand of Praxiteles. Pliny's words cast no doubt on it, and it was well known that Praxiteles had made a famous statue of her, which could have been no other than this. Some writers, indeed, have disputed this view, which, however, was held by Heyne and F. G. Welcker.¹ The latter critic, somewhat inconsistently, doubts whether the Epigram in the Planudian Anthology can be taken as proof that Praxiteles was the author of the Niobē, and suggests that the poet may have inserted his name only for the sake of his pentameter! thus destroying at a blow his good faith and his poetical skill. But the name appears in the first member of the pentameter, where the metre would have occasioned little or no constraint; and the name is again repeated in the Latin epigram of Ausonius.² On the other hand, we find no mention of any such work by Scopas. These epigrams, indeed, contain nothing to show that the statue they allude to was in a group; but they do not exclude such a view, and it is difficult to imagine that there was more than one statue of the unrivalled excellence which they describe. On account of this excellence many ancient copies were made of it, and also of other figures in the group, as substantive and single statues, several of which have come down to us; and the epigrammatist may have

¹ "Giebel-gruppen," S. 218.

² Ἐκ ζωῆς με θεοὶ τεύξαν λίθον, ἐκ δὲ λίθοιο
ζωὴν Πραξιτέλης ἔμπαλιν εἰργάσατο.

"Anth. Gr.," iv. 118.

"Praxitelis manibus vivo iterum Niobe."

"Auson.," epit. 28.

taken his description from one of these separate statues of Niobë. The beauty of that in the Uffizi, though only a Roman copy, has been recognized by the best artists, as well as critics. Guido Reni made it his constant study, and the effect of his admiration may still be traced in some of his heads; as in that of the Virgin in his Crucifixion in the Bologna Gallery, and of Cleopatra with the asp in the Pitti Palace.¹ There is also a considerable resemblance between one of the Horæ in his fresco of Aurora in the Rospigliosi Palace, and the daughter of Niobë generally placed at her right hand. The superlative beauty of the original Niobë may be inferred by analogy from the far superior excellence of the figure commonly called the second fleeing daughter in the Vatican, of which I shall speak soon, over that of the copy in the Uffizi.

Before considering the question whether the statues in the Uffizi belonged to a pedimental group, it may be as well to give an account of those originally found in 1583. They were twelve in number, vizt. the group of mother and youngest daughter (No. 8, 9),² the Pedagogue (No. 12), the son with his left foot on a rock (No. 3), another son holding his vest over his head (4), the youngest son, commonly grouped with the Pædagogue (13); a fourth climbing a rock, with his right arm up-lifted (2); a fifth sunk on his left knee and looking upwards (14); and a sixth lying dead (16). Also three daughters: the two on the right hand of the mother, and a third in a stooping posture, with both arms up-raised. But by many critics this last statue, which is inferior in execution to the rest, has been adjudicated from the group, and is omitted by Welcker. At the same time were found a much mutilated *torso*, a group

¹ Kugler, "Gesch. der Malerei," ii., 366.

² The numbers refer to the plate at p. 266.

of two wrestlers, a *discobolus*, and a horse, all of which are now properly discarded from any connection with the Niobids.

The statues enumerated were bought on their discovery by Francesco I. de' Medici, second Grand Duke of Tuscany, and were placed in the Villa Medici on the Pincian, now the French Academy. They were recognized as belonging to the story of Niobë, and were arranged in a circle, the mother standing on a slight eminence in the middle. But additions and alterations were made; two more daughters were added, one of them the pretty figure holding her robe over her head with her left hand (No. 11). The horse was also introduced. In this state an engraving was made of the group by Perier, a copy of which may be seen in Montfaucon, "L'Antiquité Expliquée" (t. i., p. 108).¹ The statues were ultimately brought to Florence by the Grand Duke Leopold in 1779; and in the same year Monsignor Fabroni, tutor of the Grand Duke's children, published a Dissertation on them.² This treatise, which was in a too laudatory tone, was severely and justly criticized by Raphael Mengs, but in a modest, and even courtly manner, in two letters which he addressed to Fabroni. His opinion, in the main confirmed by subsequent critics, was that the statues were copies from better originals, executed by various hands, and of different merit, and that they had undergone restorations in ancient, but late times.³ The circumstance that they are made of different marbles would not perhaps be of much weight if they were all Greek. The son sunk on his left knee,

¹ Jo. Batista de Cavaleriis published in 1585 an engraving of eleven of the Niobë statues, with the addition of the two wrestlers, in his book entitled "Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romæ," plates 9 *seq.* These engravings show

the statues as they were originally found, before any restorations.

² "Dissertazione sulle statue appartenenti alla favola di Niobe." Firenze, 1779.

³ "Opere," t. ii. init. (Bassano, 1783).

and the daughter now generally relegated as Anchirhoë, are of Parian marble; Coëkerell thought that all the rest were of Pentelic marble, but from later researches they seem more probably to be of Carrarese;¹ a circumstance tending to strengthen the opinion that they are Roman copies of the original Greek work.

This view is, I may say, almost certainly confirmed by the statue in the Vatican before alluded to (Museo Chiaramonti, No. 176), generally called the second fleeing daughter (No. 6 in plate), which is undoubtedly a Greek work of first-rate excellence, and infinitely superior to the corresponding Florentine statue. It wants the head, the right arm, and left hand. Overbeck holds it to be a Greek copy. The chief reason adduced is that there is no indication of rock on the basis, as seen on the Florentine copies, which, it is inferred, must have existed in the originals.² But this reason is utterly futile. Who can tell the history of the Vatican statue? It is sometimes supposed to have been found in Hadrian's Villa; but all that is certainly known is that it was in the collection of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. When the original group was broken up and dispersed, this may have been set up as a separate and substantive statue, and a new basis given to it. But what is a great deal more probable, a rocky basis may have been added to the Florentine statues; especially if, according to Overbeck's view, shared also by other German writers, they were not destined for a pediment, but for some other arrangement. Of the liberties taken in this way by copyists we have a striking indication in this group itself in the statues of the Pædagogues. That found at Rome has the right foot planted on the level ground, while in a copy found at Soissons it is placed on a piece of

¹ Stark, "Niobe und die Niobiden," S. 224 and note.

² "Plastik," ii. 59.

rock; which was done apparently for the purpose of combining him in a group with the youngest son. It was probably these rocky bases that suggested their circular arrangement when they were discovered at Rome. Nay, some such disposition they may have had in the later times of the Empire. It has been observed that some of the statues are far inferior to others. Such particularly is the case with the kneeling daughter, sometimes called Psychë; but which was doubtless one of the Niobids, as shown by the character of the head, the drapery, and by the corroborative circumstance of its having been found along with the others. The execution of this figure is so inferior that Meyer assigned it to the age of the Antonines,¹ and perhaps it may be brought down even lower, for its style bears some resemblance to that of Constantine's time. Hence it may not be altogether improbable that a group, banished from some temple converted into a church, and perhaps partially destroyed, but which some amateur was unwilling to see perish, may have been purchased by him and its deficiencies supplied.

On the whole, it appears to me to be probable that there was at Rome, in Pliny's time, a group of Niobë and her children in the temple of Apollo Sosianus, the work either of Scopas or Praxiteles, or more probably partly of both; that this group was brought to Rome from the pediment of an Apollo temple in Asia, to occupy a like position in the temple which C. Sossius had erected to the same god at Rome; that of this original group only one statue is now extant, that of the fleeing daughter in the Vatican; that the Florentine statues are only copies, perhaps more or less altered, of those seen by Pliny, respecting the arrangement of which, therefore, no certain inference can be

¹ Apud Stark, p. 300.

drawn, and that these copies were never in the temple of Apollo Sosianus at all.

The first of these propositions is of course founded on Pliny's testimony before examined. The second, that the *original* group stood in the *pediment* of the temple of Apollo Sosianus, has been questioned on the ground that Pliny's words, in *templo*, imply no such thing, but rather that it stood either within the *ædes*, or sacred building, or in the *temenos* or *peribolos* which surrounded it. But no such strict conclusion, as Welcker observes,¹ can be drawn from the words of so compendious, and therefore often obscure, writer as Pliny. If they were on the *ædes* they were also in the temple, taking that word in its most extensive meaning, so that he commits no fault; which he would have done by not specifying that they were in the *peribolos*, if they really were there. The pediment was the usual place for such groups, and all his readers would have at once assumed that such was their position. To suppose that so large a group could have been placed within the *ædes* is simply absurd; and hardly less so the idea that it could have been in the *peribolos* of a Roman temple, which was not so extensive as some of the Grecian ones, for it must have been placed at a considerable distance to become synoptical. But, after all, there is no ground for the assumption that by *templum* Pliny must have meant the whole circuit of the sacred enclosure. Stark wastes three or four pages in trying to prove that the word in Pliny's usage cannot mean the *ædes*, or sacred building.² But in fact he used those words indifferently, as various passages show. Thus he often speaks of "*fastigia templorum*."³ Could the *peribolos* of a temple have a *fastigium*? And in describing the temple of Diana at Ephesus (*templum*

¹ "Giebel-gruppen," S. 233.

² "Niobe," S. 128-131.

³ "N. H.," xxxv., 43.

Ephesiæ Dianæ), he says it was built on marshy ground, to avoid the effect of earthquakes, and that charcoal and wool were put under the foundations to make them more secure.¹ Can these words refer to anything but a building? Stark endeavours in vain to explain away such passages. Some of those which he adduces show that a building must be meant, as the picture of Timanthes in the temple of Peace.² So precious a work was doubtless in a building, and could hardly have been exposed to the weather in the *peribolus*.

That the second fleeing daughter in the Vatican is an original work, and that all the other statues of the group now in the Uffizi are only copies, can hardly, I think, be disputed. The last assumption, indeed, is so generally recognized on all hands, that it is unnecessary to discuss the point. Overbeck's doubt of the originality of the Vatican statue is surprising in a man who pretends so nicely to distinguish the styles of the different schools of sculpture. Hirt,³ and many other critics had no doubt about it. Anybody who has seen genuine works of the early Attic masters will at once recognize this statue as belonging to them. I was at the first view struck by this figure, and set it down for an ancient Greek work, before I had any suspicion that it belonged to the Niobë group. Hurried flight is admirably expressed by the posture and the fluttering drapery. It is a pity that a cast of this statue has not been placed near the copy of it at Florence; nothing could more strongly show the different style of an original master

¹ "N. H.," xxxvi., 21. Other passages are cited by Stark himself; but he mentions not the most decisive, that concerning the Temple of Ephesus.

² Ibid., xxxv., 36, 6.

³ "Gesch. der bild. Kunst," S. 206; Welcker, "Giebel-gruppen," S. 229.

Burckhardt truly remarks that the freedom of style in this statue shows that those at Florence are far inferior imitations. "Cicerone," p. 503. Stark also considers it an original, and says that it is made of Greek marble. "Niobe u. die Niobiden," S. 265.

and a copyist. The imitation is on the whole very close, but the drapery is wooden and stiff in comparison, and we miss the piece that flutters over the right shoulder. The *peplos* too, is tucked up in an unnatural manner at the left ankle; but this may be due to the modern restorer. To judge from the neck, the head of the original was probably turned more to the right, and thus seen in full face, which must have given a much nobler appearance.

Before adverting to some proposed groupings of the statues, it is necessary to consider what number of Niobids Scopas, or Praxiteles, was likely to adopt. Homer mentions only six sons and six daughters;¹ and other authorities of less importance make them sometimes more and sometimes fewer than this number. The most probable view is that the sculptors adopted the version of the myth most generally received at Athens in their time; which, as may be inferred from the Attic dramatists, was that which gave seven sons and seven daughters to Niobë. This number is thought to have been taken from Lasos of Hermione; and it is supposed by some that fourteen children were adopted in the "Niobës" of Æschylus and Sophocles.² It is certain that Euripides assumed seven sons and seven daughters.³ Every attempt, therefore, to complete the group, should embrace sixteen statues, including the mother and the pædagogus. That this last figure formed part of the original group may be safely inferred from the fact before adverted to that a copy of him, in which he is combined with the youngest son, was found at Soissons. These statues are now in the Louvre.

¹ "Iliad," xxiv., 603.

² Stark, "Niobe," p. 31.

³ "Phœnissæ," v. 159; and the fragment of the "Cresphontes," quoted in

the "Scholia" there. "Homerus pueros puellasque Niobes bis senos dicit fuisse, Euripides bis septenos."—Gellius, "Noct. Att.," xx., 7, 2.

The first attempt to arrange the Niobids in a pedimental group was that made by our countryman the architect Cockerell in 1816, at the suggestion of the Chevalier Bartholdy. His drawing is shown in the *Sala della Niobë*.¹ It met with a good deal of approbation both in Germany and France, in which latter country several eminent archæologists declared in its favour; and in Italy Nibby. But it proceeded on the erroneous idea that the group could be completed with the statues at Florence; it was soon attacked by eminent German critics and archæologists, as Wagner, Thiersch, Müller, and others, and has now lost its reputation.

But, it may be asked, what other restoration of the group can pretend to be perfect? If it consisted, as assumed, of sixteen figures, and as only twelve were originally found, the rest must of course be supplied from other sources. This has been attempted, and perhaps in some instances successfully, though by no means with unanimous accord. But there remains behind the still more difficult problem how the group should be arranged. This question opens up a fine field of discussion for German critics and philologists, with ample room to display their learning and ingenuity, and sometimes also, it must be added, their love of singularity and paradox. Pages of art-journals, nay, whole volumes, have been filled with the subject. In this way the late Professor Stark has outstripped his fellow-countrymen, whose work entitled "*Niobe und die Niobiden*," occupies between 400 and 500 pages of a large-sized octavo volume. Only some quarter of it, however, is employed about the extant statues. The rest is filled with an examination of the myth in its literary, mythological, and

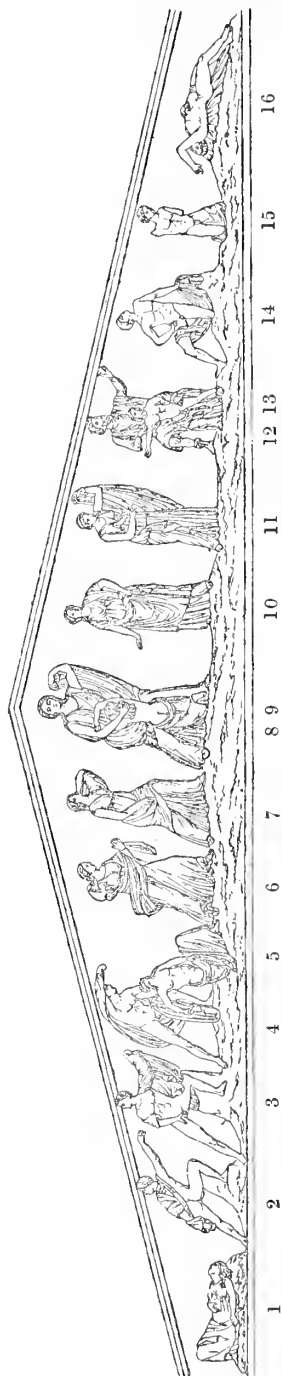
¹ Also in Zannoni, "*Galleria di Firenze, Statue*," t. ii., Pl. 74, 75; with the addition of the so-called Narcissus, which Thorwaldsen held to be a Niobid.

Also in Millins, "*Annales encyclop.*," 1817, vol. i., p. 144; and in Inghirami, "*Galleria Omerica*," Pl. 240.

ethnographical signification. Not only is adduced all that the ancients have said about it, but the accounts and views of many modern writers are also given, from Dante and Boccaccio, and through handbooks of mythology down to the time of Banier. This, I believe, is called the exhaustive manner; it is certainly somewhat exhausting for the reader. And, after all, it does not appear that the author has added much to our knowledge of the group, as a work of art, though his book is useful for details of the statues.

I do not propose to enter at any length into these discussions. The limits of this work would forbid it, even if there were any hope of conducting the inquiry to a satisfactory conclusion. For in a subject where almost everything rests on conjecture and hypothesis, where there are but few certain *data* from which to draw our inferences, such inquiries are little better than fighting the wind. I shall confine myself, therefore, to a brief consideration of what a few of the most eminent critics have said about the matter. The best and most prominent plans for the grouping are those of Müller, Welcker, and Overbeck, described in their respective works, "*Denkmäler der alten Kunst*," "*Die Giebel-gruppen*," and "*Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*," B. ii., each accompanied with plates. To these plates the reader must be referred. To describe the plans without their help would not merely be long and tedious, but hardly intelligible. I annex overleaf a copy of Welcker's, not because it is the best, but because it gives the greatest number of those figures which it has been proposed to add to the group found at Rome.

The chief heads of inquiry are—1, as to the statues adjudicated from or added to those originally discovered; 2, as to the placing in the group of those added; 3, as to the manner in which the group was exhibited.



THE NIOBE GROUP, AS ARRANGED BY F. G. WELCKER.

Only one figure, the kneeling daughter, by some called Psychē, has been questioned, and by some rejected. The only reason assigned for this rejection is that there are copies of the figure in which she has wings, thus showing her to be Psychē. One of these is in the Museo Capitolino.¹ But there is another copy in the same collection, which has no wings.² It is a well-known fact that later Roman copyists often adopted some ancient statue as a model for another subject; and in this case such a proceeding is rendered all the more probable by the comparative lateness of the story of Psychē, as there would have been no ancient model for her. About the beginning of this century this statue was pretty generally rejected, but is now as generally admitted. Welcker has left it out of his plan, but doubtingly; on the other hand, it is received by Müller, Stark, and Overbeck. The fact of its having been found with the other Niobids weighs strongly for its having belonged to the original group.

¹ Welcker, "Giebel-gruppen," S. 282.

² Stark, "Niobe," &c., S. 300 f.

Of the additions, that of the kneeling son, drawing an arrow from his back, formerly called Narcissus, was first recognized by Thorwaldsen as belonging to the Niobë group.¹ As this view has found universal acceptance, it is unnecessary to say anything more about it. (See figure 15, in Welcker's plan.)

The sinking daughter placed at the feet of the son, holding his vest over his head (No. 5, W.), was introduced by Canova from a group in the Vatican, called Kephalos and Procris. The youth, though only a fragment, could be sufficiently identified with the Florentine statue; the fainting, falling daughter was supporting herself on his knee.² This figure, also, which forms a charming group with her protecting brother, has been universally accepted.

The above, with those originally found, are all the statues that have been generally admitted into the group; and Overbeck consequently confines his plan to these.

The figure (No. 11, W.) of a daughter holding up her vest with her left hand has also been adopted by Müller and Stark; but the former groups her with the so-called Narcissus, whilst Stark (Pl. xiv.) places beneath her the dead son (No. 16, W.).

In inserting the figure No. 10 as a daughter, Welcker stands alone among the plans mentioned. The original statue is at Berlin; and Welcker introduced it in order to complete the number of seven daughters.³ But Fr. Tieck, Gerhard, and Guigniaut seem also to have considered it a Niobid.⁴

The dead daughter (No. 1, W.) is also inserted by Welcker only for the sake of the full complement of

¹ Stark, "Niobe," &c., S. 254.

² Ibid., S. 242. Stark puts him among the *fleeing* sons, which he could

not possibly be with his sister at his feet.

³ "Giebel-gruppen," p. 283.

⁴ Ibid., p. 282.

daughters. But it rests on no authority whatever. There is no substantive copy of it, and Welcker took it from a Vatican Sarcophagus.¹ In this relief, a *trophos*, or nurse, is introduced among the daughters, answering to the pædagogues with the sons. Stark is for introducing her into the group. There is a statue in the Capitoline Museum of an old woman which has been thought to represent her.²

With respect to separate groups, that of 4 and 5 in Welcker's plan (Kephalos and Procris) is also adopted by Müller, Overbeck, and Stark. That of the pædagogues and youngest son (Nos. 12, 13), which accords with the Soissons group, is also found in Overbeck; but Müller separates them by a short interval, as they seem to have been in the original find. Stark (Pl. xvi) shows both these modes. It may be added that Müller stands alone in forming another group, before mentioned, by placing the daughter (No. 11) with the son (No. 15). The only authority for this is an engraved gem,³ in which, however, the figures do not very closely resemble the statues. The group was first suggested by Gerhard. It forms an agreeable pendant to the son screening his sister.

The grouping of the whole sixteen figures is a matter of fancy, into which, as before said, I shall not enter. There are only one or two points which may be considered pretty certain. The mother must, of course, have stood in the centre, and the dead son in all probability in the angle of the pediment. The two daughters, on the right hand of the mother, are also, perhaps, correctly placed, and occupy that position in all the plans of which I am aware. Of the arrangement

¹ "Giebel-gruppen," p. 286.

² Burckhardt, "Cicerone," p. 503.

³ Engraved in Müller's "Denkmäler,"

Pl. xxxiv. D. See Welcker, "Giebel-gruppen," S. 270.

of the other figures nothing approaching certainty can be said. It has sometimes occurred to me that some guide might be found from the direction in which the figures are looking; and this again is connected with the question whether Apollo alone slew the unhappy family, or in conjunction with his sister Artemis. The former view is, I think, undoubtedly the correct one. Euripides, in the fragment of his *Cresphontes* before quoted (p. 263), makes Apollo alone the slayer; and Scopas and Praxiteles probably followed that dramatist, as before observed, both in the number of the children and with regard to the avenging deity. Overbeck, who adopts the Attic tradition for the number of the children, inconsistently reverts to Homer for the manner of their death, and makes them fall by the darts of Apollo and Artemis.¹ It is also most probable that in a temple dedicated to Apollo he alone would have been thought to be present, that is, in the heavens, for he could not, of course, have been shown in a pediment. If this be so, the darts would have come from only one quarter, and not from two, thus crossing one another, as Overbeck thinks they did; and accordingly the eyes of the figures that are looking up would have been directed towards that quarter. Even if Apollo were accompanied by his sister, it is most natural to imagine that they were side by side. Of the original twelve figures, the mother and the eldest daughter on the right are looking pretty nearly straight upwards, and it may be supposed towards the place whence the darts proceed. This being so, I should be inclined to transfer the pædagogues and youngest son (Nos. 12, 13) to the place now occupied by Nos. 4 and 5. The kneeling son (No. 14) should also be transferred to the right of his mother, and the two fleeing sons (Nos. 2 and 3) to the left.

¹ "Plastik," ii., 56.

But I merely throw this out as a suggestion to which I do not attribute any great weight.

Into the questions of the place and manner in which the Roman group was exhibited I shall not enter, as there are no grounds for any sure conclusion. It seems to me most probable that the statues discovered in 1583 were never in any temple at all. The originals of them seen by Pliny, of which we possess only one example in the daughter in the Vatican, were, I think, as before remarked, originally brought from the pediment of some Asiatic temple of Apollo to occupy the same position in that of Apollo Sosianus at Rome. The Vatican statue is on an even basis suitable to a pediment. To most of the Roman copies rocky and uneven bases have been added for the purpose of arranging them in some different manner. This was probably done at an advanced period of the empire, and it therefore seems to me needless to inquire whether they were placed under a portico or in the open air, in separate niches, or in a connected group, in a circular form, or in a line. This last disposition seems to me to be the best and most probable, because they would still retain that pedimental form for which originally they were evidently intended. The superior height of the mother fits her for the centre of a pediment; whilst the gradually decreasing height of the other figures is well adapted to the sides. And this circumstance shows, I think, that they are tolerably faithful copies from the pedimental group of Scopas or Praxiteles.

There are no other Greek pedimental statues besides those of Ægina and the Parthenon, and those of the Niobë group, of which there are sufficient remains to enable us to consider them from the point of view of art. Metopes, though often splendid specimens of sculpture in high relief, tell no story. Of friezes we have, fortu-

nately, the most magnificent example that probably ever existed in that of the Parthenon, which may be surveyed in a wonderfully perfect state, either in originals or casts, in the British Museum, and has been fully described and illustrated by Mr. Newton. It is the finest example of ancient bas-relief. But before entering upon that subject it may be as well to advert to certain laws which were always observed by the Greeks in that species of sculpture.

A fundamental law is that there should be little or no perspective in a bas-relief. The reason is, that it presents a material reality which may be viewed from any point, and consequently, according to the point chosen, the perspective would often be wrong. In a picture, on the other hand, there is only one proper point of view, with which the perspective is always in accordance. This also holds of aërial perspective; for though diminished size may be shown in a bas-relief, yet it cannot give the atmospheric effect of distance, and the small figures appear to be on the same plane with the larger ones. Relief, therefore, should not attempt landscape. Even in the highest and half-round, the figures must be on the surface of the background; and if this presents anything real, as a landscape, the figures cannot be placed upon it without a contradiction. These principles were neglected only in late Greek art, but often in modern times. The Apotheosis of Homer in the British Museum, by Archelaus, is an example. The top of the mountain is at a great distance, as if in a painting. Only the figures of the lower row are in true relief; the upper ones appear to be independent statuettes.¹

Another principle of relief, whether high, middling, or low, is that all the figures should have the same depth. The unity of effect is destroyed when the figures differ

¹ Overbeck, "Plastik," ii. 335 f.

in height of projection. When, however, the relief is very low, three or four figures may be shown together, the further one being little more than a sketch upon the marble. An example may be seen in the horses' heads in Plate xiii. of Mr. Ruskin's "Aratra Pentelici;" where the nearest horse is not higher than three-quarters of an inch from the marble ground. The sculptor must endeavour to separate his figures from the background, and give them the appearance of corporeal roundness. The "Apotheosis" before referred to again fails in not preserving uniform height of projection. The lowest row of figures is in bas-relief, whilst the upper ones are in strong middle relief. Another fault, the overcrowding of the figures, frequently occurs in Roman and in modern reliefs. The "Apotheosis" has also this fault on the extreme right of the lowest row.

The frieze of the little choragic monument of Lysicrates in the Street of Tripods at Athens, which is still *in situ*, and in a tolerable state of preservation, has a charming bas-relief on a Dionysiac subject. This monument appears, from the inscription on it, to have been erected in the archonship of Euænetus (B.C. 335), and consequently the style of the sculptures belongs to the best period of Greek art. The height of the frieze is no more than ten inches, and the figures, therefore, very small. The subject is the delivery of Dionysus from the Tyrrhenian pirates. The central group is composed of the youthful god seated in tranquil majesty, holding in one hand a bowl, and caressing his panther with the other. A young satyr sits on each side of him in a careless, easy posture; beyond these are two others standing by the side of a large vase. In advance, again, of these, two older satyrs seem placed as sentinels. The rest of the figures are engaged in vigorous combat with

the pirates, of whom some, metamorphosed into dolphins, are leaping into the sea. Nothing can excel the varied and lively action of these figures, which form a striking contrast to the tranquillity of the central group.¹ The style and execution of this frieze bear a strong resemblance to the sculptures of the Harpagus monument now in the British Museum, which is probably of the same period.

The Amphora of Sosibios in the Louvre has a Bacchanal relief; but it seems to have been made in Rome during the early Empire, and the archaic figures it contains are imitations.

Much superior to this is the Urn of Salpion in the Neapolitan Museum (Salle VI.). It was found at Gaeta, where it was used by the fishermen as a capstan, and still shows the furrows made by the ropes. It afterwards served as a font in the cathedral. A Greek inscription shows it to have been the work of Salpion, an Athenian, whose age and history are unknown. The principal figures represent Hermes giving the infant Dionysus into the charge of Leucothoë. On each side are Bacchanal figures. The execution is very elegant.

Pages might be filled with descriptions of reliefs on Bacchanal subjects, and I shall therefore only notice two more. In the Lateran is a charming one, which appears to relate to the education of Dionysus by the Nymphs of Mount Nysa. One of the legends on this subject was, that Zeus, to save his infant progeny from the wrath of Hera, changed him into a ram, and gave him in charge to the Nysæan nymphs.² The relief in question exhibits a rocky scene with a cave. At the

¹ The frieze is engraved little less than the size of the original in Stuart's "Antiquities of Athens," vol. i., ch. iv., Pl. 3; and in Müller's "Denkmäler," B. i., Pl. xxxvii. The subject, some-

what differently treated, formed a picture described by Philostratus, "Icones," 19.

² Theon, ad "Arati Phæn.," 177.

bottom, in the centre, a ram is seen grazing, and immediately above him is a naked child seated on a rock, apparently the infant god restored to his natural form. On the left is a Nymph giving him drink from a bowl. In the eave on the right is a Paniseus, or little Pan, holding a *pedum* in his right hand, and playing on the syrinx. Burekhardt seems to confound these two figures.¹ A leafy tree rises in the centre of the piece; a serpent coiled round the trunk threatens a nest of young birds on one of the boughs, whilst on each side are the parent birds, alarmed for the safety of their brood. An eagle perched above the cave indicates the watchful care of Zeus over his son. Such, it seems to me, is the allegorical meaning of the relief, but I cannot appeal to any critical authority in support of this interpretation; and the introduction of the infant Dionysus in his own form as well as that of the ram would constitute a double moment, a fault to which I have before adverted. It is plain, however, that it was sometimes committed by ancient, as well as modern, artists.

I will conclude this section with an account of a remarkable bas-relief, which, from the numerous copies of it, seems to have been a celebrated one in antiquity. The subject of it seems to be the Epiphany of Dionysus, or his first appearance in Attica. Some critics, indeed, are of opinion that it represents merely a *Theoxenia*, or repast to which some deity was invited, and thought to be present in person; whilst others hold that it shows Dionysus visiting some dramatic poet; a view founded seemingly on the theatrical masks which are seen in some of the copies. But it seems to me that, as Dionysus in his younger form was the patron of the Attic drama, the artist would hardly have introduced the god in his older and Asiatic character, as seen in the bas-re-

¹ "Cicerone," p. 537.

lief. This last circumstance, too, militates against the idea of a *Theoxenia*, as the relief can hardly be older than the time when Dionysus was worshipped in his younger form. On the other hand, the older one exactly suits his first appearance in Attica, for he lost not that character till after a lengthened residence there.

The subject is usually called the Visit of Bacchus to Icarius, whom he taught to make wine.¹ According to another version of the myth he was first received by Pegasus at Eleutheræ; and it is certain that he had a temple there, from which, as before said, the antique image of him was transferred to his temple in the Limnæ at Athens. And among the terra-cotta images near the Porta Peiraica which represented Amphietyon feasting Dionysus, Pegasus, not Icarius, sat among the guests.² These two personages, however, were held to be contemporary, and are connected by a Delphic oracle, which foretold the arrival of the god in Attica in the time of Icarius. And that he was the host appears most probable. The myth concerning Pegasus speaks not of any female; whilst in that which makes Icarius receive the god, his daughter Erigonë was present, as shown in the relief. This circumstance, as well as the female figure in the *thiasos* carrying a wine-skin, which Dionysus made a present to his hosts on this occasion, is in accordance with the myth as related by Hyginus.³

Of the various copies of this relief in the Vatican, the Louvre, the British Museum, and the Museum of Naples,⁴ this last, which was found at Herculaneum, appears to me to be the most genuine and original. It is more finely executed, and, on the whole, in a better state of preservation than the other copies, though the upper left-hand

¹ Newton, "Greek and Roman Sculptures," p. 89. ² Dyer's "Athens," p. 42.

³ "Fabula," cxxx. In the Paris relief it is carried by a Satyr.

⁴ In the last room before the portico leading to the bronzes.

corner has been irretrievably damaged. The other *replique*, also, have both additions and omissions which tend to show that they are altered copies. I shall therefore take my description from the Neapolitan relief.

In the background are seen one side and the gable front of a tiled house. Near the extremity of the side is a square window divided by a pilaster into two compartments. A square pillar next the window, with a slanting, tiled top, terminates this side of the house. The gable front which follows has a similar window. In front of this house is a smaller one, the side of which and a garden wall form the actual scene. Before them hangs a curtain in two festoons, forming a sort of apartment. Below the curtain are two couches, on the furthest of which a male figure, naked to the waist, is sitting up supported by a pillow. He turns to the god, who has just entered, and his extended arm and hand seem to denote either surprise or welcome. A youthful female, Erigonë, daughter of Icarius, clothed in a sleeveless *chiton*, reclines on the legs of this figure. Supporting her chin with her hand, she gazes with curiosity at the entering god. In front of the couch is a small table resting on three deers' legs, and decked with a *cantharus*, bread, fruit, &c. At the foot of the couch is a small round column on a square base, forming a sort of altar; behind it, and close to the house, another column supports a terminal figure with a *modius* on its head.

The second couch, to the right of that just described, is vacant, and seems intended for Dionysus, who stands in front of it. Truly a venerable and somewhat colossal figure, much resembling the Sardanapalus of the Vatican; but he is a little bit tipsy, and seems to support himself with difficulty. His head declines in maudlin somnolence; his voluminous beard falls over his chest like a cascade; his flowing locks are bound with an ivy

fillet; an ample *peplos*, or mantle, completely envelops his form. A youthful Satyr is taking off his sandals; another supports his left arm, whose roguish expression seems to say, "Master is rather the worse for drink." This is admirably shown in the Neapolitan relief, but hardly discernible in the London one.

Behind this group, and outside the entrance, is the Bacchic rout, or *thiasos*, headed by a young, but full grown, dancing Satyr. An enormous *thyrsus* rests on his right shoulder, his left arm is raised with the hand extended; he looks back and somewhat downwards. Next comes Silenus half naked, with buskins, attempting some awkward steps to the sound of his double pipe. He is followed by another young and gracefully dancing Satyr. On his breast is a *nebris*, or fawn skin; he holds some object in his right hand, which is obliterated in the London and Neapolitan copies, but from the Louvre one appears to have been a torch; which may indicate that the scene is a nocturnal one. He is looking back with gleeful face towards the next and last group, of which the principal figure, seen in full face, may be Maron, patron of sweet wine, the reputed son and frequent companion of Dionysus.¹ He is supporting a young and apparently inebriated female, perhaps Methë, who carries the leather bottle full of wine before mentioned.

On comparing the London relief with the Neapolitan we are struck by several variations. In the London one Erigonë is omitted, though there are still traces of such a figure. Methë with the wine-skin is also wanting, if it was ever there. These omissions seem intended to destroy the original *motive* of the piece; whilst certain additions seem to show that this was done in order to

¹ See Philostratus, "Imagg.," xix., and Jacobs' note. Cf. Homer, "Odyss.," ix., 197; Eurip., "Cyclops," 141.

convert it to another purpose. The most remarkable of these is a row of four theatrical masks under the couch on which Icarius reclines. These would be wholly inappropriate, and indeed an absurd *hysteron proteron* in the representation of the Epiphany of Dionysus, at which time the drama did not exist. Their insertion betrays either a blundering copyist, or more probably one who wished to make the original design serve another purpose. In this case, the changes may have been made in honour of some dramatic poet, whom Dionysus, the patron of the drama, is supposed to visit, or in order to convert the subject into a *Theoxenia*. By the absence of Eri-gonē, the male figure becomes the principal object, whose calling is indicated by the masks and by the addition of a Medusa's head on the gable front. Other additions are, a palm tree, which, however, may have existed in the Naples copy, which is broken away at this corner; a young Satyr standing by this tree, whose feet, however, would have been visible in that copy had the figure ever existed in it; and the festoons depending from the eaves of the house, which show preparations for an invited visit instead of an unexpected one. The slab on the top of the square pillar before mentioned at the entrance of the house is a blank in the Neapolitan relief, but in the London one is sculptured with a biga, probably effaced in the other.

With regard to this last object, which, whether sculptured or painted, seems to have been frequently employed in adorning houses, it may be worth while to advert to a little oversight of Lessing's. Pliny mentions an encaustic painting by Nikias representing Nemea seated on a lion, and at her side an old man, over whose head was a picture of a *biga*. Lessing fancies that this was altogether separate from the picture of Nikias, instead of being part and parcel of it, and by a very vio-

lent emendation¹ converts it into a little board inscribed with the name of the artist. The picture showed a room on the wall of which hung the picture of the biga, under which the old man stood.

¹ By substituting *πρυχίον* for *tabula bigæ*! He confesses that his emendation is rather bold (ein wenig kühn.)

It may be added that it is needless. See Plin., "N. H.," xxxv., 10; "Laokoon," xxvii., Ann. 5.

SECTION V.

ON ANCIENT PAINTING.

I HAVE before cast a slight glance on the earliest schools of Greek painting, and for the sake of showing how through religious and political influences it differed from the painting of the Renaissance, I have illustrated the subject by contrasting two pictures of Polygnotus with two in the Campo Santo having somewhat analogous subjects.¹ The school of Polygnotus was not followed at Athens by another worthy to be compared with it, as in statuary Pheidias was succeeded by Scopas and Praxiteles. The only other subsequent Athenian painter of much renown was Apollodorus; who, like the sculptors of the second Attic school, seems to have prepared the way for that grace, and perhaps over-refinement, which characterized the artists of the Asiatic and some other later schools of painting.²

The great merit of Apollodorus seems to have been technical improvement in *chiaroscuro* and colouring, qualities no doubt highly valuable in a picture, but which unfortunately seem to have too much engrossed the attention of subsequent artists, to the detriment of grandeur of conception and forcible expression. The proper aim of art—to strike the imagination—was sacrificed by the Ionian school to the desire of attempting perfect delusion by the accurate and life-like representation of objects. The well-worn stories of the grapes of

¹ See Section I., p. 56 *seq.*, and p. 94 *seq.*

Heracleotes intravit."—Plin., "N. H.," xxxv. 36, § 1, 2.

² "Ab hoc artis fores apertas Zeuxis

Zeuxis, at which the birds pecked, and of the curtain of Parrhasius, which deceived Zeuxis himself, are doubtless puerile inventions, which nevertheless serve to show what was deemed to be the principal aim of this school. There could not be a greater mistake. If art could succeed in banishing the consciousness of imitation, it would lose what constitutes its principal charm. We do not look upon a painting or a statue in the expectation of seeing a real object, but such a representation of one as may refresh the memory and stimulate the fancy. The attempt to produce illusion, even if it could succeed, would divert the artist from his proper task, and also distract the attention of the spectator from the subject of the piece to the very subordinate matter of the artist's technical skill. A cartoon of Raphael's finished with the minute accuracy of Denner would lose all its grandeur.

Hence the artists of the Ionian and later schools, with few exceptions, painted no pictures that it is necessary, or even possible, to describe, since their works consisted mostly either of single figures, or portraits, and consequently told no story. If one should attempt a description of Zeuxis' famous picture of Helen, of which he himself had so high and justly founded an opinion that he ventured to append to it the lines of Homer showing the effect which her charms produced on the Trojan elders, one would incur the censure pronounced by Lessing on all descriptions of personal beauty. Zeuxis does not appear to have painted a single picture having a story or plot. His picture of Zeus enthroned and surrounded by the rest of the gods may have afforded a fine field for the display of majesty, grace and beauty, and also for artistic grouping; but there its interest ends. In that respect it must have resembled those modern pictures before alluded to of the Madonna surrounded

by a company of saints. The same may be said of his family of Kentaur's, which in themselves, moreover, were not very interesting. The rest of his pictures seem to have been mostly single figures, and therefore almost coming into the category of statues; to which, also, their large size would have approximated them. In only one picture do we hear that he attempted expression; that of Menelaus at Ephesus dissolved in tears while making libations to the shade of his brother Agamemnon.¹

The art of Zeuxis' contemporary Parrhasius seems to have been of much the same character. Timanthes alone of the artists of this period appears to have excelled in giving character and expression to his subjects. Of his most celebrated picture, the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, several descriptions have come down to us. Cicero,² Pliny,³ and Valerius Maximus⁴ agree in saying that the artist covered Agamemnon's face because it would have been impossible to depict the extremity of his sorrow. Pliny's words, however, somewhat modify this view. As Timanthes, he says, had exhausted every image of grief in the faces of the bystanders, and especially in that of the uncle Menelaus, he veiled the father's face because he could not paint it *worthily* (digne). Quintilian also employs the same qualification,⁵ and seems to mean that the artist could not show Agamemnon's grief consistently with his dignity, since he is speaking of things that cannot be expressed without losing that quality.⁶

Lessing claims these passages in favour of his theory that the Greeks subordinated expression to beauty; and as that quality, combined with dignity, was incompatible

¹ Tzetzes, "Chil.," viii., 390.

⁵ "Inst.," ii., 13, 12.

² "Orat.," xxii., 74.

⁶ "Quæ exprimi pro dignitate non possunt."—Ibid.

³ "N. H.," xxxv., 36, 6.

⁴ viii. 11, Extr. 6.

with the natural contortions of Agamemnon's face in such circumstances, Timanthes concealed it, and thus evaded the difficulty.¹ Lessing further remarks that the impossibility of depicting extreme woe, the reason assigned for this proceeding in some of the passages quoted, could not have been the true one; since the stronger the passion the more marked are the features, and consequently the more easily delineated. This is just; but he might have further remarked that Timanthes had depicted the extremity of grief in the countenance of Menelaus. Here, then, the painter had already sinned against his canon; and, in a minor degree, in the other faces also; if it be true that a sorrowful expression obliterates beauty. I cannot think, therefore, that this was the artist's real motive. Nor do I think that the expression of the deepest woe must necessarily be ugly. There are, no doubt, some passions, as rage, envy, despair, which give the features the most frightful and repulsive distortions, as in the sketch of a dæmon by Michelangelo. But grief is a passion comparatively calm; and when it is the effect of parental affection, unaccompanied with remorse or any other painful feeling, may well excite sympathy rather than disgust. That the ancients thought not grief incompatible with beauty is shown by the fact that Praxiteles, whose statues were renowned for that quality, made one of a matron weeping; and another of a courtesan, thought to be Phrynë, rejoicing; doubtless as a foil to it, and with the view of showing beauty in opposite circumstances.² And in his Niobë, of which I have spoken above, maternal sorrow was combined with the highest beauty.

But if the veiling of Agamemnon's head can hardly be claimed in favour of Lessing's theory of beauty, it might perhaps serve to support another of his canons—

¹ "Laokoon," § ii.

² Plin., "N. H.," xxxiv., 19, 10.

that in works of art something should be left to the imagination of the spectator. He strongly insists on the advantages of that method when treating of the moment;¹ and it is, therefore, all the more surprising that he should not have seized this occasion in illustration of his views, especially as some of the authors whom I have cited on the subject expressly intimate it.² But the same passage could not be made to serve two purposes; and Lessing seems to have preferred his theory of beauty, which, indeed, is the leading one of his treatise, to his view of the moment. It may be further remarked that to leave something to the imagination was peculiarly characteristic of Timanthes; and Pliny remarks that in the works of this artist alone more was always suggested than painted, so that though his art was supreme, he showed a genius and understanding of its principles that surpassed it.³

It has been sometimes suggested that Timanthes was not actuated by any such motives, but that he took the veiled head of Agamemnon from the description in the "Iphigeneia in Aulis" of Euripides. With regard to this it should be observed that the whole of the messenger's speech, in which it occurs, has been rejected as spurious by Porson and other critics. The play, however, seems to want some such termination, which may have originally existed; but, having become lost or defaced, was restored by an incompetent hand. And if Timanthes did not borrow the idea from Euripides, he might have found a precedent for what was a very natural action on the part of Agamemnon in Homer's description of Priam hiding himself in his mantle after Hector's death.⁴ It seems not improbable that

¹ "Laokoon," § 3.

² "Velavit ejus caput et suo cuique animo. dedit æstimandum." — Quint., l. c. "Patris fletum spectantis ad-

fectu æstimandum reliquit." — Val. Max., ib.

³ "N. H.," xxxv., 10, 36, § 3.

⁴ "Iliad," xxiv., 163.

Timanthes may have adopted these hints, not in the spirit of a servile copyist, but as seeing how conformable they were to the principles on which he habitually worked.

It may be still more difficult to describe in words three or four different shades of grief than to depict them with the pencil; yet Valerius Maximus has attempted it in his description of the picture in question. He makes Chalcas, the sacrificing priest, sad (*tristem*), Ulysses sorrowful (*mæstum*), Ajax crying aloud (*clamantem*), Menelaus lamenting (*lamentantem*); which last epithet would seem to imply the utterance of sorrowful exclamations, accompanied perhaps with tears. To utter loud exclamations, the mouth of Ajax must have been widely opened; but as such a feature, according to Lessing's theory, would have been inadmissible in ancient art, he resorts to a method usual enough among his countrymen on such occasions, though more sparingly adopted by himself, and roundly asserts that Ajax and his cries are a mere invention of Valerius, supporting this view from the circumstance that neither Cicero nor Quintilian mentions Ajax. But it is hard to believe that Valerius should have taken such a liberty with so well-known a picture. He would have been liable to immediate refutation; nor is it easy to see what motive he could have had for so doing, since he had no theory to support. With regard to the silence of Cicero and Quintilian, and it may be added of Pliny, it may be observed that a man making loud exclamations is in no very prostrate state of grief, and therefore they passed him over as not serving their purpose. In accordance with Ajax's blunt and soldier-like character, he seems to have been protesting aloud against the sacrifice, in which case his countenance would have expressed indignation rather than sorrow. And thus Timanthes, with the feeling of a true artist, would have

varied the monotony of his subject, and introduced an excellent foil to Ulysses, the sedater rival of Ajax.

Among the wall-paintings of Pompeii are two on this subject, neither of which, however, has any resemblance to that of Timanthes, except in the circumstance that in both, which are evidently excerpts from different pictures, Agamemnon's head is veiled. This seems to show that such an attitude was an inviolable tradition, and strengthens the opinion that Euripides had also described it. In the best of these paintings—that in the House of the Poet,—the style is very antique, and almost resembling bas-relief.¹ It may, therefore, have been an earlier representation of the subject, which Timanthes improved and made more pathetic by the introduction of the mourners. In the painting, Ulysses and Diomedes, if such they be, are assisting in the sacrifice, instead of lamenting it.

Apelles carried grace and beauty, combined with technical excellence, especially in colouring, to a pitch never perhaps before attained; but, with regard to his subjects, he must be put in the same category with Zeuxis. His famous picture of Aphroditë rising from the sea seems, like its counterpart in sculpture, the Cnidian Aphroditë, to have been the only one in painting which conveyed an adequate idea of the goddess of beauty:

“Si Venerem Cous nunquam pinxisset Apelles,
Mersa sub æquoreis illa lateret aquis.”²

It was ultimately placed by Augustus in the temple which he dedicated to Cæsar, where Ovid no doubt saw it. But it will no more bear description than the Helen of Zeuxis. By sight alone can such works be appreciated. Some of Apelles' pictorial effects seem to have been wonderful, especially in the representation of fire-

¹ Helbig, “Wandgemälde,” No. 1304.

² Ovid, “Ars Am.,” iii., 401.

light; as in his picture of Alexander wielding the thunderbolt, which seemed to project from the painting; whilst that conqueror's naturally white skin took a tawny hue from the effect of the blaze.¹ His picture of Thunder, Lightning, and the Thunder-bolt seems to have been of the same kind.² It is probable, as Urlichs suggests, that these phenomena may have been introduced in a picture of Semelë and the birth of Dionysus. Philostratus describes such a picture as extant in his time in a gallery at Naples. Thunder had a hard and rigid form; Lightning darted flame from her eyes; Thebes was enveloped in a dark thunder-cloud bursting over the house of Semelë, whose form was obscurely seen ascending to heaven. The flame which enveloped the house was paled by the still greater brightness of the nascent deity, who shone out like some brilliant star.³ In fact the ancients seem to have been as skilful in such effects as Hondthorst (Gherardo dalle Notte) or Schalken. Antiphilus, an artist about contemporary with Apelles, painted a boy blowing a fire, the flame of which was reflected on his face and throughout the apartment.⁴ Philostratus describes two or three other pictures showing effects of fire-light. In a nocturnal revel, Comus held in his hand a torch, which brought out, as it were, in relief the form of his limbs.⁵ In another picture the banquet in which Agamemnon and Cassandra were slain by Clytemnæstra was shown by lamp-light, which must have added to the horror of the scene. Philostratus mentions here a natural touch of the artist. The drunken guests who had been killed were not pallid, for colour does not immediately forsake persons dying in that condition.⁶ But to return to Apelles.

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxv., 36, § 17;

Plut., "Alex.," 4.

² Bronte, Astrape, Keraunobolia,

Plin., *ibid.*

³ Philostr., "Imagg.," i., 14.

⁴ Plin., *ibid.*, xxxv.

⁵ "Imagg.," i. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 10.

He excelled in portraits, and Alexander allowed no other painter to take his likeness. He seems to have had a talent for concealing the natural defects of his sitters, and for making a beautiful picture whilst he preserved a faithful likeness. That he should have been a good portrait-painter detracts not from his merit; for Raphael, Titian, Rubens, and others among the greatest painters of modern times, have excelled in portraiture; but had they done nothing else, they would hardly have attained a first rank in art. Apelles, however, besides portraits, painted chiefly single figures. One of his advocates, *quand même*, asserts that Greek pictures should be looked upon as pieces of coloured statuary, and that a complicated subject would destroy the harmony which is their essential merit.¹ But though it is probable that Greek painting had its origin from sculpture, and always retained something of a sculptural character, yet the examples already cited suffice to show that it did not eschew elaborate subjects. The Capture of Troy and the Nekyia of Polygnotus appear, on the contrary, to have failed in the opposite extreme by the introduction of too many figures and a certain want of unity in the composition. And though the remarks of M. Houssaye are more applicable to the productions of Apelles, and of some of his Ionian predecessors, yet even he could sometimes paint an elaborate subject, as, for instance, his celebrated picture of Calumny.

Lucian has given a description of this piece, which appears to have been suggested to Apelles by an adventure of his own, a false accusation brought against him before Ptolemy. "On the right," says Lucian, "was

¹ "Les tableaux de l'art Grec doivent être considérés comme des morceaux de statuaire animés par les couleurs, où la complication du sujet jetterait le dés-

accord dans l'harmonie qui en est la première condition."—Houssaye, "Hist. d'Apelles," p. 438.

seated a man with long ears resembling those of Midas, who was stretching forth his hand to Calumny, advancing from afar. At his side were two females, who, I think, were Ignorance and Suspicion. Calumny was beautiful enough, but a little excited by passion and anger. She held in her left hand a blazing torch, and with the right was dragging along a youth whom she had seized by the hair, whilst he stretched forth his hands towards heaven, and called upon the gods to witness his innocence. A pale, ugly man, with a piercing eye, and resembling one attenuated by sickness, preceded him; one might fancy him to be Envy. Calumny was accompanied by two other women, who encouraged and adorned her; he who showed the picture told me that they were Intrigue and Deceit. They were followed by a female of wretched appearance, in a black and tattered garment; her name, I think, was Repentance. She was weeping, and looked back with fear and shame towards Truth, who was advancing."¹

In all these characters there was plenty of scope for variety of expression, which, from Lucian's description, must have been well rendered. Several modern painters have employed their pencils in realizing it. Botticelli has made it the subject of a picture now in the Uffizi; which, however, is far surpassed by a drawing of Raphael's in the same collection. Holbein and Poussin also painted it. Such frequent repetitions serve to show that it was a good subject for a picture. But with Apelles it was a mere *lusus penicilli* suggested by an accident, and it would be absurd to seek in it any characteristics of his general style, or to contrast it, as Houssaye does, with his Kypris Anadyomenë, or his Charis at Smyrna.

Among the few painters of this age who excelled in

¹ Lucian, "De calumnia non temere credenda," 4.

rendering character and expression were Aëtion¹ and the Theban Aristeides. Pliny especially signalizes Aristeides for his delineations of character and emotion. In his picture of a suppliant you seemed to hear the voice. Other of his paintings were a female in a state of insensibility for love of her brother; a wounded and dying mother repulsing the infant which sought her breast; a sick man, the truthful rendering of whose sufferings was a constant theme of praise. King Attalus gave 100 talents for one of his pieces. His picture of a battle with the Persians contained 100 figures, for each of which Mnason, tyrant of Elatea, agreed to give 10 *minæ*. After the capture of Corinth by Mummius the booty was sold; when Attalus gave so high a price for Aristeides' picture of Dionysus, that Mummius began to suspect his own want of taste, so he claimed it back again, and placed it in the Temple of Ceres at Rome.²

Aëtion's picture of Tragedy and Comedy would have afforded him an excellent opportunity for delineating the opposite emotions proper to those kinds of poetry, and might remind us of Reynolds' picture of Garrick between the Tragic and Comic Muse. His most celebrated piece was the marriage of Alexander and Roxanë. It was exhibited at Olympia, where it created such a sensation that Proxenidas, a president of the games, gave Aëtion his daughter in marriage. Roxanë, of extraordinary beauty, was sitting on a couch, her eyes modestly cast down at the approach of Alexander. She was surrounded by little smiling Erotes; one behind her

¹ Müller, "Archæol. der Kunst," § 211, Ann. 1, places Aëtion in the time of Hadrian and the Antonines by too closely pressing Lucian's words (*τὰ τελευταία ταῦτα*, Herod., 4). For in that case how could he have been mentioned by Pliny, or still more by Cicero

("Brut.," 18, 70)? But there is some confusion of name. In some editions of Pliny, who does not mention the Marriage, he is called Echion, and placed in the 107th Olympiad (xxxv. 36, 9).

² Plin., "N. H.," xxxv. 8.

loosened her veil, and displayed her charms to the enraptured bridegroom; another was taking off her sandals, as if to put her to bed; a third laid hold on Alexander's mantle, and dragged him towards RoxanĒ, to whom he offered a garland. Hephæstion, his best man, with a lighted torch in his hand, was leaning on a blooming youth, whom Lucian took to be Hymen. On the other side of the piece, little Loves were playing with Alexander's arms. Two were carrying his lance, looking as if they were grievously burthened with it; another lay on the shield in royal state, whilst two others had hold on the thongs, and were dragging him along. One Love had hid himself in the breast-plate on the floor, and seemed to be lying in wait to frighten his companions. All this, says Lucian, was no idle invention, but meant to show that Alexander, with all his love for RoxanĒ, loved also war, and did not forget his arms. And thus Aëtion obtained a real marriage for his fictitious one.¹ This description, faithfully translated into colours by Raphael, may be seen in the Borghese Palace at Rome; and a drawing for the same picture in the collection of the Archduke Charles at Vienna.

Timomachus of Byzantium, who lived in the time of Cæsar's dictatorship, threw a last fitful light on the declining days of painting, as the expiring taper outshines for a moment the fading flame which had preceded it. I have already alluded to his two masterpieces, the Ajax and Medea, when speaking of the moment (*supra*, p. 111 sq.). They were placed by Cæsar in the temple which he had erected to Venus Genitrix. A just taste for painting seems to have prevailed at Rome during the time of the first two or three Cæsars. Augustus and his son-in-law Agrippa, dedicated several fine pictures in public buildings; even Tiberius, with all his brutality, was not en-

¹ Lucian, "Herod.," 4.

tirely devoid of a relish for art.¹ But a practice was beginning to be introduced, against which Agrippa set his face and denounced in a public oration, that of immuring works of art in private houses, and thus converting into a peculiar and exclusive possession what was intended for public edification and delight. A heavy blow and great discouragement to art! Nero, to use the expression of Pliny, *imprisoned* the works of Amulius in his Golden House, and they were destroyed in the fire which consumed it.² Amulius prided himself on being a Roman, and would never work, even on a scaffolding, except in his toga. Painting, indeed, seems always to have been held in some honour at Rome, as may be inferred from the case of Fabius Pictor, whilst there are few or no instances of Roman sculptors. And so Virgil, when speaking of arts unworthy of a Roman, excludes sculpture, but not painting:—

“Exeudent alii spirantia mollius æra

Credo æquidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus.”

“Æn.,” vi., 847.

Two good painters of a rather later age, Cornelius Pinus and Accius Priscus, who painted the temple of Honos and Virtus restored by Vespasian, were also Romans.

We must, probably, place about the time of Nero the marked decline in painting observed by Pliny. That emperor's taste appears to have been execrable. What could be more absurd than a statue of himself 120 feet high? It was in his time that gladiators and gladiatorial shows began to be painted. Soul and animation were no longer demanded in works of art; richness of material was more valued than excellence of execution. Petronius, who lived about the same time, or perhaps a little

¹ Plin., “N. H.,” xxxv., 10.

² “Carcer ejus artis domus aurea fuit.”—Plin., *ibid.*, 37. Some editions read Fabullus for Amulius.

before Pliny, confirms his testimony about the decadence of painting; but when he speaks of it as absolutely dead, he doubtless exaggerates.¹

Few ancient paintings have come down to us, except those preserved upon walls at Rome, and in the Campanian houses overwhelmed by the eruption of Vesuvius in the year 79. These last at Pompeii, which are the most numerous, must for the most part have been painted in the period between the eruption and the earthquake which in 63 destroyed great part of that city. The only remarkable painting not on a wall is that now in the library of the Vatican, representing a Roman wedding. It was discovered in a ruin near the Arch of Gallienus in the pontificate of Clement VIII. (Ippolito Aldobrandini, 1592-1605), and being placed in his villa on the Quirinal, obtained the name of the Aldobrandini marriage. Pius VII. bought it in 1818 for 10,000 *scudi*, and placed it in the Vatican. It is a picture of considerable size, of a lengthened oblong shape; the figures, about 18 inches high, are of statuesque appearance, and being arranged in a line without any grouping, might almost pass for a copy from, or a design for, a bas-relief. This was a frequent, perhaps almost general, characteristic of the more ancient painting. It resembled statuary in having sharp outlines, preserved by the figures being kept separate; no strong foreshortenings, one clear light, with shadows only to throw out the figures, and care was taken that one figure should not cast its shadow on another.² In the piece in question, the bride sits in the middle on the nuptial couch, enveloped from head to foot in an ample garment, and distinguished by her air of timid modesty. The bridegroom, with a chaplet on his head, seated on a low stool at the foot of the couch, is remarkable by

¹ "Satyricon," c. 88.

² Quintil., "Inst., Or.," viii., 5, 26.

his youthful, manly beauty and impatient attitude, whilst a female next the bride is probably addressing to her some encouraging words. Before the wedded pair is a little round pillar serving as a table, at which a female of elegant figure, unclothed to the hips, seems to be preparing refreshments. To the left, at another similar pillar, a priest with two attendants is busy with a sacrifice. On the extreme right, a draped and commanding figure, with a sort of diadem, seems to be about to sing the epithalamium, accompanied by a female on the lyre. Here also is a table, on which another female is placing some object, apparently a *patera*. The colouring of the picture, so far as can be determined after such a lapse of time, seems to have been thin but harmonious.¹

The Roman wall paintings are few in number, but afford the best examples of that style of art. One found on a wall near the Esquiline is very remarkable, especially for the lights. The subject is Ulysses in the infernal regions. A dark grey tone prevails; the light enters only through a cleft in the rock leading to the upper world, casting a feeble ray on Ulysses and his companions employed in sacrificing the ram.²

In the Tablinum of the so-called house of Livia on the Palatine are figures of Io and Galatea, which, when compared with copies, evidently from the same originals, on Campanian walls, show a much higher degree of elegance and beauty. Helbig attributes this circumstance to Rome being the centre of art and abounding with original Greek works; also, perhaps, to the influence which the high-bred and refined Roman ladies had upon the painter. The best picture in the house in question is a large one (1.70 by 1.35 *mètres*) representing the

¹ Winckelmann's idea ("Monumenti Antichi," P. i., cap. 9, p. 60), that it represented the marriage of Pelus and Thetis, is evidently untenable.

² See Brunn, "Die Philostratischen Gemälde," S. 229.

story of Io and Argus. Io is seen in the middle of the piece seated at the foot of a rock, on the top of which is a column bearing a statue of Hera. The figure of Io, who is partly undraped, is very graceful. On her left is Argus, in a stooping posture, with one foot placed on a rock. He is completely naked, but bears in one hand the skin of some animal. Armed with sword and spear, he looks attentively at Io. On the other side, Hermes, with petasus and caduceus, partly hidden behind the rock, is stealthily advancing to slay Argus. The name of Hermes, written beneath the figure in Greek letters, shows the picture to be a copy from a Greek master. That the original must have been famous is evident from there being at Pompeii several copies of it, but with alterations. That in the Pantheon comes nearest to the Roman painting, the figures of Io and Argus being almost identical, but Hermes is omitted.

In the same house at Rome is a fresco of Polyphemus and Galatea, which appears to be seen through an open window. The landscape, remarkable for its aerial perspective, is one of the best ancient ones extant. Galatea is represented sailing on a dolphin. There are several pictures of this subject at Pompeii, but none which much resembles this. All of them show Polyphemus seated on a rock, whilst in the Roman piece he is in the water. A third painting of a street in Rome is chiefly valuable as showing the architecture of the lofty Roman houses. This view is also seen through a window. There are two smaller pictures representing *Hydromanteia*, or divination by water.¹

Wall painting must have begun in the infancy of the art, for it has been seen that Polygnotus and other painters of the early schools used that method.

¹ See descriptions of these frescoes by Perrot, and plates, in the "Journal Archéologique," 1870, No. xxi.

Pausias, who flourished in the middle of the fourth century B.C., is said to have been the first who painted ceilings; from which it may perhaps be inferred that wall-paintings had been already introduced into private houses.¹ It were perhaps to be wished that Pausias had never hit upon such an invention except in the way of ornamental painting. It strains one's back to look at any subject on a ceiling, and the right point of view is hard to get. This inconvenience is well obviated in the Palazzo Rospigliosi at Rome, by the mirror placed under Guido's *Aurora*. What a waste of power in Correggio's painted cupolas at Parma! But if the spectator has reason to complain, how much more so had the artist! Vasari tells us that Michelangelo, after painting the ceiling of the Cappella Sistina, which he was obliged to do in a recumbent position, could not for months afterwards read or see drawings except in the same posture; and that he himself suffered similar effects from painting ceilings in the palace of Cosmo de' Medici, though he had invented a couch for the purpose.²

Pausias, who painted chiefly in encaustic, was a good artist in the higher styles, and excelled in foreshortening and *chiaroscuro*. His skill in these respects was displayed in a picture of a black ox, which showed its whole length, though the head faced the spectator. The parts struck by the light were also black, but lighter than those in shade.³ There is a good example of an ox foreshortened in a house in the Vicolo della Fullonica at Pompeii, but the animal is white, and stands with its back to the spectator.⁴ Pausias must have excelled in colouring, for one of his pictures represented Methë, or Inebriety, drinking from a glass through which her face

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxv. 40; Helbig, "Wandgemälde," S. 129 f.

³ Plin., *ibid.*, 40, 24.;

⁴ Helbig, "Untersuchungen," No.

² "Vita di Michelagnolo, Opere," t. 1411. v., p. 38.

was seen.¹ He seems also to have introduced small cabinet pictures suitable for the adornment of private houses. Helbig thinks that such easel pictures, which could be purchased only by the rich, were imitated on painted walls.² There are some few traces on walls at Pompeii that easel pictures had been let in. Pausias was followed in this style by several artists of the Diadochan period, as Peiraicus, who painted *genre* pictures of barbers' and shoemakers' shops, feastings, &c.; and Calates, who took for his subjects scenes from comedies.

Wall-painting must have been introduced into Italy at an early period as a decoration of private houses, since such pictures are mentioned by Plautus as of frequent recurrence.³ It is a probable conjecture of Helbig's,⁴ but no more than a conjecture, that the Roman poets sometimes took their descriptions and allusions from such paintings; as, for instance, of Europa conveyed over the sea on the bull's back, of Venus wafted in her shell, and the like. How common that species of art had become is shown by the fact that it is found in third-rate houses in a third-rate town like Pompeii. It filled, indeed, the place of modern tapestry and stained papers. From this circumstance it cannot be expected that such paintings, which form the greater portion of the remains we possess of ancient pictorial art, should afford any very trustworthy specimens of the earlier Greek painters, and therefore any adequate materials for judging their works.

The method of executing these frescoes forbade any very high degree even of technical excellence. Painting gradually by small parts at a time was avoided, since the artist was obliged to execute his work quickly while

¹ Pausan., ii., 27, 3.

² "Wandgemälde," S. 134.

³ "Menæchmi," i., 2, 34 *seq.*; "Mercator," ii. 2, 42.

⁴ "Wandmalerei," S. 119.

the wall was wet. Hence the apparently hasty manner in which most of the pictures seem to have been done. The landscape in the background, if there be any, is mostly in the lightest tones, sometimes indeed only indicated. Dark shades are avoided, and the air is often represented by a piece of white plaster.¹ On the other hand, this method was favourable to boldness and facility of execution. The walls being usually of no great extent, admitted not of large compositions. In the more ancient Hellenistic style they were divided into compartments, in the middle of which were painted imitations of easel pictures; but this is rarely seen in Campanian houses. The wall often appears to be pierced by a door or window, especially when a landscape is shown; thus the picture seems to be painted on a wall outside the room, and all combination with its architecture is avoided. There are examples of this method at Pompeii in the frescoes of Venus and Adonis in the house of Adonis Ferito, of Diana and Actæon in the house of Sallust, and others;² also in that of Galatea and Polyphemus at Rome, before described.

The fact that the designs of the Campanian frescoes are relatively much superior to their execution shows them to have been copies; and that they were for the most part taken from Greek originals appears from the circumstances that the subjects of many of them are known to have been handled by Greek artists, and that Greek inscriptions are often found upon them. That their subjects are almost all taken from the Greek mythology tends to prove the same thing. The few on Roman subjects are very inferior in design, and are sometimes partly borrowed from Greek pictures. Thus

¹ Donner, "Die antiken Wandmale-
reien in technischer Beziehung," S. cix. ff.
(prefixed to Helbig's "Wandgemälde").

² Helbig, "Untersuchungen über die
Campanische Wandmalerei," S. 324.

in the fresco of *Æneas* wounded, that figure is taken from the *Adonis* in the *Spada* relief, and *Venus* from the well-known figure of *Selenë* descending to *Endymion*.¹ The beautiful hovering figures so frequently occurring on Pompeian walls are seen on Corinthian mirrors. But *Helbig* is of opinion that in general the frescoes are not taken from the earlier great masters, but from cabinet pictures of the Hellenic period, and that even these were considerably altered.² In many of them are found traces of the sentimentality which characterized that time. Such are *Ariadnë* abandoned by *Theseus* in the *Casa di Meleagro*, *Oionë* and *Paris* in the *Casa del Labirinto*, a head in the *Casa del Orso* of sorrowful aspect and doubtful gender, &c. It may be inquired where the wall painters found these originals? In the case of the Roman frescoes it might not be difficult to answer this question; Rome, as before observed, abounded with treasures of Greek art, and if the original compositions of the most famous painters were not there, it may be safely assumed that there were copies of many of them. There were good copyists at Rome in the time of the early empire. *Dorotheos* copied for *Nero* the *Venus Anadyomenë* of *Apelles*, which had then become much obliterated.³

With regard to the Campanian artists, it is no unreasonable supposition that they may have had access to good pictures in their own neighbourhood. In the time of *Petronius*, who lived most probably in the reign of *Nero*, there was a fine gallery at *Naples*, which contained paintings by *Zeuxis*, *Protogenes*, and *Apelles*.⁴ *Lessing*, with a hardihood not uncommon among his countrymen, but more rare in himself, asserts that this

¹ *Braun*, "12 Bas. Rel. am Palazzo Spada;" *Helbig*, "Untersuchungen," S. 6.

² *Helbig*, *ibid.*, S. 228, 342, &c.

³ *Plin.*, "N. H.," xxxv., 36, 15.

⁴ "Satyricon," c. 83 and 89.

gallery never existed except in the imagination of Petronius.¹ His motive for so doing is that Petronius describes a picture in it of Laocoon, which runs counter to an opinion of his about the origin of the marble group; but the only argument he adduces in support of his view is that the verses in which the picture is described are a manifest plagiarism from Virgil. But allowing this to be so—and the notion rests only on a few similar words and a desire to embellish, characteristic, it is said, of plagiarists—such a circumstance would not prove the non-existence of the picture, and still less of the gallery. Petronius having seen such a painting, and wishing to put a versified description of it into the mouth of Eumolpus, may very naturally have turned to Virgil's lines, though his own are Iambies. And if such a plagiarism was his object, it is difficult to see why he should have added the *lie circumstantial*—that the gallery contained pictures by Zeuxis and others.

It may be remarked, by the way, that Trimalchio, who gives at Naples the supper described by Petronius, had a cook who had been bequeathed to him by Pansa;² and about the time of that author there was a rich man of that name who was an *ædile*, and seems to have possessed one of the finest houses at Pompeii. It may also be remarked that some of the pictures of Apelles in the gallery were *monochromes*. There are now in the Neapolitan Museum (*Salle VI. comp. 72*) six pictures in that style, which were found at Herculaneum. They are done on white marble, and the drawing is so far superior to that of the wall-paintings, as to make it not improbable that some of them may be copies from Apelles. Mengs speaks of these drawings, and allows them a certain degree of excellence; but, from the

¹ "Laocoon," § 5.

² "Satyricon," xlvii.

drapery and other circumstances, thinks they must have been done in the infancy of art.¹ A strange opinion! which he supports by the fact that they are painted in cinnaber (*minium*), a colour, he says, with a singular contradiction of his own argument, unknown till after the time of Apelles; whereas Pliny tells us that it was discovered A.U.C. 249,² or B.C. 505, and, therefore, long before the time of that painter. The names of some of the figures are inscribed in Greek characters; and one of them has an inscription with the name of the artist, Alexander the Athenian. No inference as to the age of these designs can be drawn from the form of the Greek letters, since in all probability they were copies.

To make it probable that the gallery mentioned by Petronius could have afforded materials for the artists of Campania, it must be shown that it existed before the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. I have said that Petronius probably flourished in the reign of Nero; but his age has been variously placed between that of Tiberius and of Constantine. Some writers, misled perhaps by the name of the celebrated church at Bologna, have even made him a bishop of that city, who died and was canonized in the fifth century!³ Although it cannot be strictly proved that Petronius was the "*arbiter elegantiarum*" mentioned by Tacitus in the time of Nero,⁴ yet that opinion is infinitely more probable than any

¹ "Opere," t. ii., p. 105.

² "N. H.," xxxiii., 37.

³ De Guerle, "Notice sur Petrone," p. xv. An amusing instance of the way in which saints were sometimes invented is that of the Spanish saint, S. Viar. A stone was discovered bearing the letters S. VIAR. They were the remnants of a Roman inscription, "Præfectus Viarum!"

⁴ "Ann.," xvi., 18. There is a difficulty about his prænomen. Tacitus

calls him Caius, Pliny, Titus ("N. H.," xxxvii., 7); and so also Plutarch ("De Adulat. et Amicit. Discrim."). Yet the same man must be meant; for there could hardly have been two Petronii, both *consulares* (mox consul, Tac.; consularis, Plin.), who committed suicide for fear of Nero. No Titus Petronius appears, however, in the "Fasti," and the Caius Petronius Turpilianus, consul in A.D. 61, was a different man.

other. A strong fact in favour of it is that Terentianus Maurus, who appears to have lived at the end of the first or beginning of the second century, quotes him once under the name of Petronius, and once under that of Arbiter.¹ It is true that *arbiter* in Tacitus is no proper name; yet it may have adhered to Petronius, just as Pictor did to Fabius and Dives to Crassus. I will here mention a circumstance, unnoticed, I believe, by any critic, which tends to confirm the opinion that Petronius flourished under Nero. Plocrimus, one of Trimalchio's guests, who calls himself an old man, says that when he was young, he was unrivalled in acting, except by Apelles,² or Apelletes, who, as we know from Suetonius,³ was a famous actor in the time of Caligula; and the interval between that emperor and Nero was sufficient to turn a young man into an old one.

The Petronius put to death by Nero appears to have resided at Cumæ, and consequently the picture gallery at Naples may have been well known to him. The existence of it derives some confirmation from a passage in Pliny, who says that Iaia had a picture of an old woman *at Naples*.⁴ Had there not been a well-known collection in that town, Pliny would hardly have used so vague a phrase, but would surely have specified, as he usually does, the place or building in which it might be found.

Tacitus describes Petronius as an elegant and learned voluptuary; and the manner of his death, in hearing light poems instead of philosophical precepts, admirably agrees with the character we should be inclined to assign to the author of the *Satyricon*. The sealed document which in his last moments he despatched to Nero could

¹ vss. 2489 and 2852.

² The *Apelletem* of Petronius is no doubt the *Apellam* of Suetonius. See the note of Tilebom.

³ "Vit. Calig.," c. 33; "Dion. Cass.," lix. 5; "Satyricon," c. 64.

⁴ "N. H.," xxxv. 40, 43.

not have been that work, but that affords no argument against his having written it. It may also be allowed that the book was not intended as a satire upon that Emperor under the name of Trimalchio. Such an opinion, indeed, is absurd, if it be considered that if it was the work of the consular Petronius it must have been written when he was in favour with Nero; for his accusation by Tigellinus, and consequent suicide, were sudden and unexpected, and could not possibly have allowed time enough for such a composition. It is much more probable that it was written for Nero's amusement than as a defamatory libel upon him; though envy and malice may have contrived to give it that character.

Arguments for the age of Petronius have sometimes been drawn from the style of the *Satyricon*. At best, style is a very unsafe criterion in such a matter; and in a work where a number of low, uneducated persons are introduced, may be even misleading. The late learned Mr. Ramsay, who touches upon this argument in his "Life of Petronius,"¹ observes that when the writer speaks in his own person, his style "is redolent of spirit, elasticity, and vigorous freshness," and he would refer it to the age of Hadrian. But it must be a very subtle discrimination indeed that can distinguish a difference in style produced in half a century; and it is well known that while some writers are fond of introducing innovations, others, on the contrary, prefer to follow existing models. No such arguments can, I think, prevail against the circumstantial evidence which I have attempted to array.

A gallery of paintings at Naples is also mentioned by Philostratus, whose "Imagines" is a description of some of those contained in it. Could this have been the same gallery of which Petronius speaks? Each is situated a

¹ In Dr. Smith's "Dict. of Ancient Biography."

little way out of the town and near the sea.¹ There were several Philostrati whose ages are uncertain; but a picture gallery may exist for some centuries. One Philostratus the elder, is mentioned by Suidas as living in the time of Nero; he was therefore contemporary with Petronius, and in all probability the author of the "Imagines." Such was the opinion of Meursius and of Ignarra, whose arguments were approved by Ruhnken.² In the age of the first Cæsars there was a celebrated gymnical *Agon* at Naples, which probably ceased in the time of the Antonines; and Ignarra³ is of opinion it was to this festival that Philostratus went. Philostratus is careful to tell us that the Neapolitans knew Greek and cultivated that tongue, as being a polished people of Hellenic descent, in order, apparently, to explain his reason for going thither, which was to make the pictures in the gallery the subjects of rhetorical descriptions (Ἑπιδείξεις). In Trimalchio's supper a band of Homeristæ are introduced who delivered Greek verses, but Trimalchio, with his usual vulgarity, drowned their voices by reading aloud a Latin book.⁴ It passes all belief that Philostratus, a rhetor by profession, should have invented these pictures, many of which must have required the skilled practice of an artist, out of his own head. They are so well adapted for the pencil that some of them have been painted by Giulio Romano and others.

The existence of these pictures, like those described by Petronius, has been questioned by a few writers—Della Valle, H. Valois, Count Caylus, and Klotz; of whom the last two have been lashed by Lessing in his "Laokoon," for their absurdities, and the others are of

¹ "Satyricon," c., xc. init.; "Imagines," Proem.

² See Jacobs, "Præf. in Philostrati Imagines," not. 2.

³ "De Palestra Neapolitanâ," P. ii., 5, p. 222 seq.; Ruhnken, "Bibl. Crit.," ii. 1. (Ap. Jacobs, "Philostrat.," p. lix.).

⁴ "Satyricon," c. lix.

no great renown. Göthe held them to be real.¹ In describing the picture of Hyacinthus, Philostratus says that as he was not come as a Sophist to discourse about the fables represented, but as a spectator of what was done, he would scrutinize the picture.² These surely are not the words of a man inventing a painting. If he merely wanted a vehicle for his rhetoric, the fables which formed the subjects of the pictures would have afforded better materials for the display of his eloquence. I have adverted above (p. 287) to some of his descriptions, which show that he considered the pictures with regard to their art and execution, as he naturally would do if they were real and not imaginary. In the latter case he would have been wasting his ingenuity in a department not his own, even allowing that he had enough artistic skill to invent such pictures. But to return from this digression.

A circumstance which militates against the Pompeian pictures, as *criteria* of the higher Greek art, is, that being intended for the most part to decorate private houses, subjects of a cheerful nature were in general preferred to more serious and pathetic ones, and we thus have few specimens of such as were remarkable for expression. Another and more serious objection is, that the wall painters took the liberty of altering their models, according to their own taste and caprice, or those of their employers. No two copies of the same subject are precisely alike; which shows that the painters worked without having any copy before them, and therefore from memory. They seem also to have made their figures more realistic than the Greek originals; the legs especially are shorter, a trait which Rumohr ascribes to the national characteristics of the Italian race as compared with the Greek.³ The alterations consisted chiefly of

¹ "Kunst und Alterthum," ii., 1, S. 30.

² "Imagines," i., 24.

³ "Italienische Forschungen," i., 78.

omissions, but sometimes of additions. The first kind of alteration naturally sprang from the limited space at the disposal of the artist; perhaps also from considerations of economy, since a picture with few figures demands less labour, and consequently less remuneration, than one with a great number. Examples of omission may be seen in the following pictures. In four at Pompeii representing the story of Perseus and Andromeda, one has the two principal personages only, whilst the other three have also a female figure sitting on the cliff. Helbig, who holds these figures to be Actæ (*Ἀκταί*), that is, coasts or cliffs personified, takes these pictures to be nearer the original than that which omits them.¹ He is further of opinion that as these personifications of natural objects began with the Alexandrine epoch, the prototype of such pictures may be ascribed to Nikias. Pliny mentions that Nikias painted a picture of Andromeda, and also, apparently as a pendant, one of Io and Argus. A wall-painting at Rome on this last subject has been already described. There are four on the same at Pompeii, in which the two principal figures are repeated with some slight differences, but Hermes and the image of Hera are omitted. It will be seen from the description before given of the picture representing the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia (*supra*, p. 282), that many figures are omitted in the Pompeian copy. Pictures supposed to represent Admetus and Alkestis afford further instances. There are five such at Pompeii, a large quantity considering that the subject was not a very celebrated mythological one like Bacchus and Ariadne, Perseus and Andromeda, &c.; a circumstance which seems to show that the original must have been a famous painting. The best of the five, a picture of moderate size, shows Admetus seated with Alkestis beside him, who looks at him

¹ "Untersuchungen," S. 142.

² "N. H.," xxxv., 40, 28.

sorrowfully whilst she places one arm round his neck, and grasps his arm with the hand of the other. A youth sits before them reading from a paper the oracle touching Admetus' death. On the foreground on the right is an old woman, apparently Admetus' mother, bent with age, and with her finger on her chin listening attentively to the oracle. Behind her is a bearded old man, seemingly Admetus' father, leaning with both hands on a stick, and absorbed in sorrowful thought. In the middle of the piece is Apollo, taller than the rest, with his quiver on his shoulder, and lifting up the right hand. A nimbus round his head is faintly indicated; his tranquil face contrasts well with the strongly marked expression of the other figures. Somewhat lower, between Alkestis and the old man stands a female whose face and uplifted right hand testify alarm and sorrow. Behind Admetus and Alkestis are two men who cannot be identified. This painting excels in grouping, attitude, and expression. There is in the Neapolitan Museum an almost precisely similar picture from Herculaneum (No. 1159), but the colouring is different, and the two figures behind Admetus and Alkestis are omitted. The other copies have also slight variations, but all are evidently from the same original. Many more instances of omission might be instanced, but the above will suffice. There are also evidently additions to what may be supposed to have been the prototypes; but it may be doubtful whether these may not, in many cases, be owing to some intervening copy by a Greek artist which the Pompeian one took as a model.

Wall-pictures from Roman history or mythology are very rare, and chiefly from Virgil. Besides the picture of the wounded Æneas before alluded to, he is found represented with Dido, and receiving the armour from his mother Venus. Another painting shows Dido lament-

ing his departure. A small caricature represents Æneas carrying his father Anchises on his shoulders, both being turned into apes. Besides a small picture of Romulus and Remus with the wolf, the only other picture from Roman history is that in the Casa di Giuseppe II., commonly called the Death of Sophonisba, who holds in her hand the bowl of poison.¹ Scipio is present at the scene, whose features are well known from busts. The scar which they bore on the forehead is also seen in the picture.

Landscape, which occupies so great a place in modern art, was comparatively but little cultivated by the ancients. This, however, must not be attributed to a want of capacity and skill. It would be absurd to suppose that artists who could paint such fine pieces as some of those before described should not have been equal to the easier task of delineating inanimate nature. Helbig, indeed, thinks that the ancient artists were capable of painting works of that kind which might rival any productions of the modern pencil; and he supports that opinion by appealing to the scenes from the "Odyssey" before mentioned, painted on a wall near the Esquiline.² But that opinion must perhaps be taken with some qualification. At all events the taste of the ancients lay not that way; and where a certain kind of art is not in much request, it is not likely to be carried to such perfection as when it forms a sort of staple, as landscape does at present. In general the ancients preferred the representation of some action, and considered the scene in which it took place only as subsidiary and subordinate. They took no pleasure, as we do, in atmospheric

¹ There is a plate of it in "Pompeii," p. 292. (Bell & Sons). The description of the painting by Helbig ("Wandgemälde," No. 1385) must have been taken from some account of it when in a more

perfect state. A good deal of the lower part is now obliterated. It was discovered in 1769.

² "Untersuchungen," p. 350. See above, p. 294.

effects merely for their own sake. The same feeling pervades their poetry as well as their art. I have before alluded to the brevity, the few decisive touches, with which Euripides indicates a landscape (*supra*, 106), and many more examples might be given. Such a poem as Thomson's "Seasons" would have been an impossibility in ancient times. A sentimental feeling for nature was perhaps rather more developed in the Diadochan epoch of art, but it never reached the pitch it has attained among us. Helbig seems rightly to attribute the modern taste for dreamy, even sad, atmospheric effects to the northern climate. Even now the gloomy north seems to be the proper home of such paintings. It may be doubted whether even at the present day Turner's exquisite representations of such scenes would be duly appreciated in southern Europe. Claude painted more like the ancients; but with an idealization unknown to them, and for the sake of the landscape itself. An eminent modern critic has condemned all such attempts in a lump as utter trash. Mr. Ruskin, speaking of a vase with roses in a picture by Paul Veronese says: "I would myself give all the bushes—not to say all the trees—and all the seas of Claude and Poussin in one bunch and one deluge for this little rose bush and its bottle."¹ On reading this judgment of a high and recognized authority one is inclined to think that discussions about taste, and all attempts to find any standard of it, are but so much labour lost, and that it would be better to revert at once to the simple and easy theory, that all that pleases us is beautiful, and all that displeases ugly.

I have before briefly adverted to the skill of Apelles and other ancient painters in rendering effects of light (*supra*, p. 287). How sensible the more modern Greeks

¹ "Guide to Venetian Academy," p. 16.

were to such effects is shown by many passages cited by Helbig from the "Argonautica" of Apollonius of Rhodes.¹ That poet alludes to the dancing sunbeams reflected from a glass of water; describes how the forehead of Jason assumed a red colour from the reflection of the golden fleece which he was carrying off; how the same fleece on the bridal bed of Jason and Medea cast a ruddy glow on the Nymphs who were present; how when the Argonauts were sailing in a dark and starless night, Apollo, at the prayer of Jason, discovered to him the Isle of Anaphë by the light reflected from his golden bow. It can hardly be doubted that these and other descriptions of the like kind were often suggested by pictures; and, indeed, among the Campanian paintings there are many of the sort. Thus in a picture in a house in the Strada Stabiana the form of Thetis is reflected on the polished shield of Achilles which Hephæstus holds before her. Another, in the house of *Adonide ferito*, shows the head of an Hermaphrodite in a mirror which a slave holds before him. In the house of the *Pescatrice* Narcissus admires his face reflected in a stream. It would be tedious to multiply instances, and I will only mention one more for its singularity. In a recently discovered Pompeian picture of Pero and Kimon, the painter has endeavoured to show those restless particles of dust which may be observed in a ray of light that penetrates into a dark room through a chink.²

Modern art has also many such effects of light, which surprise, indeed, and please, but after all are little more than trick. Perhaps the chief qualities in which modern painting differs from, and, in all probability, excels the ancient, lie in the representation of daylight and aerial perspective. It may be more difficult to render these faithfully than to paint reflections from shining surfaces,

¹ "Untersuchungen," S. 213 ff.

² Helbig, "Untersuchungen," S. 215.

or effects of flame and candle-light. In ancient landscape, the plastic element, or form, was more considered than tones or tints. In such as we have, there is a want of natural colour. But here, of course, great allowance must be made for the nature of these wall-paintings, and for the effects of so long a lapse of time. A more decisive proof of the indifference to colour may be found in the fact that the landscapes are often monochromes. A landscape with water found at Herculaneum is painted in green; others in yellow monochrome exist in the house of Livia on the Palatine, and in that of Sirico at Pompeii.¹

From this preference for form over colour, the ancients generally took their landscapes from a high point of view, so as to show a great extent of earth and but little sky. They could thus develop the scene to the extreme distance, and show the features of the country without much exhibition of atmospheric tones. This must have been the case in several of the pictures described by Philostratus; in that of the Marshes, of the Bosphorus, and of the Islands.² In this respect such pictures must have resembled Polygnotus' Capture of Troy before described, and some modern pictures of a corresponding stage of art in the Campo Santo. But landscapes are occasionally found taken from a lower point of view. The union of perfect form and perfect colour, that is, of drawing and painting, forms of course the perfection of art; but such a union is rare in landscape painters. Turner, one of the greatest artists in that way of modern, perhaps of any times, excelled not in drawing.

Besides landscapes which are only backgrounds to mythological or historical subjects, we frequently find among the wall-paintings landscapes with *staffage* of a bucolic or marine character, telling no particular story.

¹ Helbig, *ibid.*, p. 359.

² "Imagines," i., 9; i., 12; ii. 17.

This style of painting appears to have been introduced by Ludius (or Tadius) in the time of Augustus.¹ It was evidently the product of the greater interest which the wealthy Romans took in their rural and marine villas. These villas dotted the coast from Antium to Sorrentum, and were particularly frequent in the charming neighbourhood of Naples, especially at Baiæ, where may still be seen remains of those vast substructions which encroached upon the domain of the sea.

“Ædificator erat Cretonius et modo curvo
Litore Caietæ, summa nunc Tiburis arce,
Nunc Prænестinis in montibus alta parabat
Culmina villarum, Græcis longeque petitis
Marmoribus.”

Juv., “Sat.,” xiv. 86 seq.

Such was the Roman rage for building! For Cretonius had not the means of the greater Roman magnates, and he as well as his son were completely ruined by their expenses in this way. The younger Pliny was hardly a Roman of the first rank and wealth, yet he had four villas, one at Laurentum, one in Etruria, and two on the Lake of Como. In describing the view from his Laurentine residence, he mentions the far-stretching coast abounding with pleasant villas, which were sometimes so numerous and crowded together as to have the appearance of towns. He also alludes to the fishermen, who so often form the *staffage* of wall-paintings;² which consisted also of persons walking or sailing, riding on asses or in carriages, hawking, hunting, or busy with the vintage. According to Vitruvius,³ however, this kind of art was becoming degenerate, and represented monstrosities rather than natural and well defined objects. Specimens of the *staffage* above described may be seen in several Pompeian paintings. One of a bu-

¹ Plin., “N. H.,” xxxv., 10, 37. Ludius must have been a Roman.

² “Epp.,” ii., 17; viii., 7.

³ Lib., vii., 5.

colic, or idyllic, character, presents a rocky scene with temple-like buildings. On the right a shepherd descends a hill with his flock; in the foreground, a peasant girl with a sheep-skin is leading a goat towards the temples.¹ Another painting shows a valley bordered with high cliffs and watered by a brook. In the middle is a *sacellum*, or little shrine, before which some country-people are preparing a sacrifice, one of whom washes his hands in a waterfall.² The *Casa della piccola fontana* at Pompeii has many such paintings. In two of them may be seen the promenaders described by the younger Pliny; three are marine views with sailors and fishermen; another shows a road with a man wearing a straw hat and yellow tunic riding on a mule. In the *Casa dei Dioscuri* is a large landscape with an angler and a basket full of fish.³ There are also some landscapes, especially from Herculaneum, without *staffage*, and apparently intended to convey a poetical impression solely from the region depicted; as a painting of a deserted, melancholy shore, with rugged cliffs and decaying trees. Some of the views seem to have been suggested by the scenery in the neighbourhood of Pompeii. In two is seen a distant island whose outline resembles that of Capri; in two others a mountain having the appearance of Vesuvius.

The Pompeian mosaics must also for the most part be regarded as copies from pictures. This is not the case with the Ravenna mosaics; which, being taken from scriptural subjects, or containing representations of Justinian and his court, were doubtless designed by Byzantine artists. The traveller in search of classical art will find little at Ravenna to repay his trouble; on the other hand, it will interest archæologists, and espe-

¹ Helbig, "Wandgemälde," No. 1564.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1558.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1556, 1563, 1572, and b. c. d.

cially those who would study the progress of mosaic. Here and there is a Greek urn or bas-relief. Of the last kind is a marble slab at the entrance to the choir of S. Vitale said to have been found in a temple of Neptune. It represents that god enthroned, with a *hippocampus* at his feet; at the sides, one Eros, or Genius, bears his trident, another his *concha*. Opposite to it is another similar relief. The execution of them is very beautiful, but they are surely strange ornaments for a Christian church. The fifty-six columns of variously coloured marble which formed the naves of the metropolitan church of the Resurrection, built towards the end of the fourth century, are said to have been brought to Ravenna from the temple of the Capitoline Jove.¹ If so, the destruction of Roman temples must have begun at a very early period. But this account hardly agrees with that of Procopius, who states that Gesneric, in the middle of the fifth century, found the Capitoline temple in a perfect state, and carried off the gilt tiles from the roof.² Without the columns, the roof would have fallen.

The mosaics in the choir of S. Vitale representing the Emperor and his consort Theodora, with their attendants, are made with large pieces of coloured stone, and are much ruder than those at Pompeii, but the colours and gilding have a rich effect. The best mosaic at Ravenna, as a work of art, is that of Christ the Good Shepherd, in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia. But the visitor of Ravenna must content himself with these early specimens of Christian art; with reminiscences of the approaching fall of the Empire suggested by the remains of the palace of Theodoric, and contemplations of the Renaissance inspired by Dante's sepulchre. A mingled picture of decay and revival! One of the earliest and

¹ Ribuffi, "Guida di Ravenna," p. 27.

² Dyer's "City of Rome," p. 322.

greatest of modern poets finding a refuge and a tomb among the last ruins of ancient civilization.¹

The largest ancient mosaic in existence, putting aside those at Ravenna, is that found in the House of the Faun at Pompeii, and now in the Hall of Flora in the Neapolitan Museum. It is twenty-two feet in length and half as high; the figures represented are nearly three-fourths the size of life. Recent researches have proved it to be made of glass,² the material now used for Roman mosaics, which gives a much more picture-like effect than pieces of stone. The picture from which it was taken must have been painted at least a century before the fall of the Roman Republic, since some extracts from it are found on Etruscan urns; the making of which ceased about that time. The subject of it is a battle between Greeks and Persians, and the claim to the authorship is divided between Philoxenos and Helena, daughter of Timon of Egypt, both of whom were contemporary with the battle of Issus, fought near the end of B.C. 333. According to Pliny, Philoxenos of Eretria painted for King Cassander a very excellent picture³ of a battle between Alexander and Darius, which has been thought to be that of Issus. Before the end of B.C. 331, Alexander was in Babylon, where he had a mortal quarrel with Cassander; after which event it is hardly probable that Cassander should have ordered a picture redounding to his honour. In the two years,

¹ In 1865, on the occasion of the sixth centenary of Dante's birth, some repairs were made at his tomb, when a rude wooden box was found, out of which fell some human bones. On breaking up the box the following inscriptions were found: "Dantis ossa de nuper revisa die 3 Junii, 1677;" and, "Dantis ossa a me Fra Antonio Santi hic posita anno 1677 die 18 Octobris."—Ribuffi, p. 116.

² Welcker, ap. Müller, "Handb.," S. 172.

³ Nullis postferenda, "N. H.," xxxv., 36, 22. Cassander did not obtain the title of King till B.C. 307; but Pliny may have given him that designation though the picture was painted many years before he obtained it, and when he was still only a powerful and successful general.

however, between 333 and 331, there was time enough for the painting of such a picture, especially as Philoxenos was remarkable for his celerity. And if there should be any objection on this head, we might call it the battle of the Granicus, fought in the spring of 334, to which, indeed, some critics have assigned it; and, for anything that may be inferred from the picture, one is just as probable as the other. But in this case the claim of Philoxenos to the authorship would lose the authority of Pliny, and that of Helena would perhaps become preferable; which, though it rests on the less authoritative testimony of Suidas, is supported by the border round the mosaic, representing crocodiles and other Egyptian animals, in reference apparently to the place of Helena's birth. It was also the battle of Issus that she painted; and her claim is further strengthened by the fact that Vespasian placed her picture in his Temple of Peace, so that it might easily have been copied by the Pompeian mosaïst. Probably it had previously belonged to Nero; for Vespasian filled his newly dedicated temple with *chefs-d'œuvre* which had been in that emperor's possession. Nothing is more probable than that a rich and tasteful proprietor like the owner of the House of the Faun, should have ordered a copy of so excellent a picture.

With respect to the interpretation of the subject there is much variety of opinion. If it be the battle of Issus, which, from what has been said, appears most probable, there is nothing in the mosaic to contradict such an assumption. Dareius was present at that battle in a superb chariot, such as the quadriga in the middle of the piece. He is also identified by his dress, and especially by the long bow which he holds, always seen in the hands of the kings in the monuments of Persepolis. Alexander also may be identified by his profile,

and the arrangement of the hair, though the whiskers seem to be an addition. It was a happy thought of the artist to show his helmet struck off in the fray, both as displaying his valour and affording an opportunity to show his likeness. Burckhardt, who held the strange opinion that the piece might represent a battle of Greeks or Romans against Celts, denies that the man in the chariot can be Dareius, since the attention of the other figures, and, it may be added, of the king himself, is directed towards the personage in royal costume who has been transpierced by the lance of the supposed Alexander.¹ But it is surely a singular opinion to take the wounded man, who is fighting on horseback, to be the king, rather than him in the quadriga, whose costume is richer, as shown by the armlets, &c., and especially, as just remarked, who is distinguished by the bow, whilst the other has a sword. The reason why the general attention of the Persians, including Dareius himself, is engrossed by the fate of the falling horseman, is that it marks the decisive moment, the turning-point of the fray. The wounded man is evidently the Persian satrap in actual and active command, and the result of the battle could not be more clearly indicated than by his fall. That he fell by Alexander's hand is not to be accepted literally, though the Macedonian king was often personally engaged; it is here to be taken symbolically, as showing his victory. It was also, perhaps, an adroit piece of flattery. The attention of Dareius is fixed on his dying general. He regards him with well expressed dismay, and has given his charioteer the order for retreat, though his soldiers, as shown by the direction of their lances, are still pressing forwards. They consist of infantry, and such was the case at Issus.

¹ "Cicerone," S. 720.

The Persian standard seems to have borne the emblem of a cock.

The original picture must have had a high degree of merit. The Persians, their arms and accoutrements, are depicted with great natural and historical truth; the composition is well arranged, and if the drawing is sometimes not quite correct, the fault may perhaps be ascribed to the copyist rather than to the original painter. Much technical skill is shown in the foreshortening of the horse in the centre, and in the reflection of the face of a fallen Persian in his steel, or silver, shield. Above all, the intense, but varied, expression of alarm and despair in the faces and gestures of the king, his attendants and followers, is admirably rendered. Unfortunately the left side of the mosaic, which contained the Grecian host, is almost obliterated; but here also remains of scattered limbs and arms show that the victors had suffered much, and that their struggles must have afforded striking scenes for the pencil.

I shall mention only a few more mosaics which were no doubt copies of celebrated pictures. One in the Neapolitan Museum shows an elderly Choragus directing the preparations for the representation of a drama. Seated in the middle of the picture, he is assigning masks to two actors who stand before him. They have only a piece of sheep or goat-skin round their loins, and are evidently intended to represent Satyrs, as is also shown by the mask that one of them wears. Of the masks not distributed one is clearly intended for a Silenus, another beardless one probably for Dionysus; which further show that the piece to be acted is a satyric one. Behind the Choragus stands another actor whose equipment is more advanced, as an attendant is helping him to put on a loose, shaggy robe; his mask on the table beside him shows an elderly personage not belonging to the Bac-

chanal rout. Between the Choragus and the two actors is an ivy-crowned female playing on the double flute, and behind her a male attendant.

Another mosaic in the same collection inscribed with the name of Dioscorides the Samian, in Greek characters, as the maker of it, has two dancing figures, one striking a tambourine, the other rattling castagnettes. Behind is a female playing the double flute, and a child holding a kind of horn. It seems probable that these are copies from Calades, who flourished in the Diadochan period, and, as before said, was celebrated for his theatrical pieces.¹ There are also many beautiful mosaics of still-life, animals, birds, &c., some of them still *in situ* at Pompeii; but these fall not within my scope.

¹ Plin., "N. H.," xxxv. 37.

SECTION VI.

MODERN PAINTING.

A BRIEF sketch has been given in the first Section of the conditions which preceded the revival of Art in Italy in the thirteenth century. The glory of initiating the Renaissance has been claimed by Florence and Siena. But as the rival pretensions of Cimabue and Guido only consisted in a deviation from the traditional Byzantine model, in giving the stiffness of its figures more ease and grace, in converting their repulsive morosity into a more amiable expression, in short in a nearer approach to nature, or what is much the same thing, to the models of antiquity, the praise of a real revival should perhaps be ascribed not to a painter but to a sculptor, Niccolò Pisano. Of the history of Niccolò and the date of his works little is certainly known. One of the most famous of them, however, that of the pulpit in the Baptistery of Pisa, has an inscription dated in 1260; and he could hardly have been entrusted with such a work had he not previously distinguished himself as a sculptor. But Vasari's account that he executed the *Arca* in the church of S. Domenico at Bologna between the years 1225 and 1231¹ is evidently erroneous. The Marehese Davia has shown from a document dated in June, 1267, that the body of S. Domenico was then transported from the plain tomb in which it reposed to the sculptured one prepared for it in the church which bears

¹ "Opere," t. i., p. 31.

his name.¹ The probable inference is that the *Arca* had been finished only a little while before. Indeed in 1231 S. Domenico had not yet been canonized, and it is improbable that so splendid a tomb should have been prepared for him before that event.

Niccolò seems to have derived his style chiefly from remains of the later Roman sculpture, which, however inferior to the works of an earlier period, were much better than any contemporary art. In his various travels in Italy he probably found better models than the sarcophagi in the Pisan Campo Santo. The Virgin and Child in the pulpit of the Baptistery at Pisa is taken from the sarcophagus having the story of Phædra and Hippolytus, whilst one of the old men is thought to be a copy from the bearded Bacchus before alluded to,² now in the Vatican. Niccolò's works were spread through a great part of Italy, and no doubt awakened a new sense of the beautiful in all men of any artistic feeling, painters as well as sculptors.

The contention between Siena and Florence for the glory of having initiated the Renaissance turns, as before hinted, on the priority of a picture of the Madonna painted by Guido of Siena and the celebrated one of the Florentine Cimabue. This painter appears to have been born in 1240, but the history of his life and works is somewhat obscure. According to Vasari, his father, a man of noble family, sent him for education to the Convent of S. Maria Novella, where, instead of attending to his books, he amused himself with drawing and painting, studying the method of certain Greek artists who had been employed to decorate the Gondi Chapel. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle deny this story, and even charge

¹ "Memorie intorno all' *Arca* di San Domenico," ap. Rosini, "*Storia della Pittura Italiana*," t. i., p. 116, and notes

9 and 10; Reumont, "*Tavole Cronologiche*," Ann. 1261, 1266.

² Above, p. 191.

Vasari with having invented it, with the silly view of enhancing Cimabue's reputation by his superiority over his masters; and they remark that he needed no Greek instructors, as he might have taken his style from the works which he saw around him.¹ But these would not have taught him the technical processes of painting; and it is to these and not to his style, that Vasari alludes when he says that he would stand all day long watching the Greeks at work. How Cimabue's reputation should have been increased by such an act it is difficult to see. It is said that the Gondi Chapel could not have been then in the church, as the first stone of S. Maria Novella was not laid till 1278. Vasari could not have been ignorant of the history of the church, since he tells us that it took seventy years in building.² The chapel, therefore, as he must have known, could not have been *in the church* in Cimabue's boyhood, but it may have been a substantive building afterwards incorporated in it. The church seems to have undergone many alterations. It is spoken of as rebuilding in 1297,³ and the chapel may then have been included in the structure; a view supported by its dilapidated condition when Vasari wrote, only a century and a half afterwards.

However this may be, Cimabue seems to have painted his celebrated Madonna, now in the Ruccellai Chapel in Sta. Maria Novella, about the year 1273, since it is said to have been inspected by Charles I. of Anjou on his passage through Florence in that year. This is the painting which contends for pre-eminence with the Madonna of Guido of Siena. Cimabue, besides other works, had previously painted a Madonna for the monks of Vallombrosa, which was placed in the Church of S.

¹ "History," vol. i., ch. 6. I may remind the reader that I have used Max Jordan's German translation of this work, which, having been made with

the concurrence of the authors, may be regarded as a revised edition.

² Apud Reumont, "Tavole Cronologiche," Ann. 1278. ³ Ibid., sub ann.

Trinità at Florence, and is now in the Academy of that city (No. 2). It is inferior to the Ruccellai Madonna, though showing an improvement on the Greek manner; not, however, in such a degree in either picture as to entitle it to mark an epoch in art. It is on his frescoes from scriptural and legendary subjects in the Church of S. Francesco at Assisi that Cimabue's fame chiefly depends.

Guido's rival Madonna in the Church of S. Domenico at Siena is said to have had the date of 1221, when Cimabue was not yet born. But this date is in all probability a falsification, and the picture has been so much painted over as to afford no accurate criterion of its style. There is another Madonna by Guido in the Gallery at Siena (No. 6), supposed to have been painted in 1260. Even this had precedence in point of time over Cimabue's; but though both Guido's pictures show some improvement on the Byzantine manner, they have little or no claim to superiority over Cimabue's in point of grace and beauty.

It may be further observed that all these early pictures of the Madonna, including the celebrated one by Giotto, are no true tests of the Renaissance. They are all mere copies after the traditional Greek manner, only somewhat altered and improved. The drawing is a little better, the features not quite so morose, the complexion less adust, the drapery rather less rigid. But such improvements are little more than technical, and can hardly be said to form an epoch. Still less is that character applicable if we regard the subject of these pictures. They are nothing more than idols and display no invention. The best claim to be the author of the revival of painting must rest with him whose genius and invention made him the founder of a new school of art, and in this view the honour must be assigned to Giotto.

Giotto di Bondone was born of poor parents at Vespignano, near Florence, about the year 1276. Struck by the artistic talent which the boy displayed, Cimabue patronized him, and gave him instructions in painting. It would be impossible in this sketch to follow his history and labours. His works are so numerous that the bare enumeration of them would demand more space than can be here afforded. They are widely spread over Italy. Padua and Assisi are their chief seats, and there are also some remains of them at Rome, Naples, and other places. But there are sufficient at Florence to illustrate his style; and as that place falls most usually in the track of travellers in Italy, I shall confine my remarks to what may be found there.

It is pretty universally agreed that some of his finest works are in the Peruzzi and Bardi Chapels in the Church of Santa Croce; but all have more or less suffered from decay and restoration, and from the coating of whitewash with which, not many years ago, they were covered. The frescoes in the Peruzzi Chapel present scenes from the history of the Baptist and S. John the Evangelist. The most remarkable things in this series are the resurrection of Drusiana, the dancing of Salome, the healing of the cripple, and the ascension of S. John. The frescoes in the Bardi Chapel are taken from the history of S. Francis. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle select for especial praise the death of the saint, which they consider equal to any thing of Raphael's. I must confess that I incline to Mr. Ruskin's opinion that the fresco of S. Francis before the Soldan has much greater merit. Raphael, I think, would never have selected for his pencil a monkish legend that offered no scope for the display of his genius. Of the other fresco Mr. Ruskin observes: "It is so great that—had its principles been understood—there was in reality nothing more to be

taught of art in Italy; nothing to be invented except Dutch effects of light.”¹ This last remark applies to the fire, which, as Mr. Ruskin says, is merely a red mass, casting no fire-light. I cannot, however, agree with his opinion, that Giotto meant to indicate the heat by making the Magi hide their faces with their robes. The Soldan, a noble figure, who is much nearer to the fire, does not screen himself from it. He is looking at his challenged Magi to see how they will behave, who by covering their faces betray their dismay and confusion. Thus their action aids in telling the story, whilst in Mr. Ruskin’s view it only serves to help out a technical want of skill. There is a repetition of these stories by Domenico Ghirlandaio in Sta. Trinità, which may serve, by comparison with Giotto’s, to illustrate the progress of technical art. The fire here looks more real, but Giotto has conceived the scene with much more spirit. In the Death of S. Francis, however, Ghirlandaio has perhaps excelled him in motive as well as technical execution.

The Last Supper in the *quondam* Refectory of Sta. Croce, if not by Giotto, is at least by one of his school. Further specimens of Giotto will also be found at Florence in the Academy, where is one of his Madonnas, and a series of small pictures from the lives of Christ and of S. Francis. Mr. Ruskin takes us into the cloisters of S. Maria Novella to see some of his frescoes; but I do not find any attributed to him there by his biographers. Agincourt gives a plate² of that showing the Birth of the Virgin, and calls it a Greek fresco.

Giotto improved technical art by giving more freedom to his figures, by reducing the staring eyes of the Byzantines, in which, however, he perhaps went too far in

¹ “Mornings in Florence,” p. 76.

² No. cix.

the other extreme, and by changing the adust complexion of the Madonna to a pale carnation.¹ But he had no idea of foreshortening; his draperies do not display the figure, and his perspective is bad. Hence we must look at his pictures for the thought, for the invention and composition, and make allowances for the rest. He was fond of introducing many figures; none of them, however, are supernumerary and idle, but help to tell the story. In this last respect he may be considered to have equalled Raphael. Thus in the Peruzzi chapel the miracle of S. John's resurrection is shown by the gestures of the bystanders; in the opposite fresco, two spectators hug each other for fear at the sight of the Baptist's head; and perhaps I may add as a similar example the Magi before alluded to in the Bardi Chapel. But his greatest service to art was the taste which he gave for cyclic painting, thus opening the way for the following great artists, including Raphael, in that style. He appears to have died in 1336.

Among the numerous disciples of Giotto, called the *Giotteschi*, I can in this brief sketch select only the more remarkable. Taddeo Gaddi, son of Gaddo Gaddi, and godson of Giotto, was for many years his pupil and assistant. Taddeo's earliest independent works seem to have been scenes from Scripture in the Baroncelli Chapel in Sta. Croce. His manner resembled Giotto's, but he did not equal his master either in drawing or invention, though according to Vasari he coloured better. In one important point, however, the expression of the passions, he excelled. This was particularly shown in his fresco of the Crucifixion at Arezzo; in which in the faces of the three soldiers casting dice for Christ's vestments were admirably depicted the eager restlessness of the one awaiting his turn, the suspicion of another that the

¹ See Eastlake's note to Kugler's "Handbook," i., 123.

dice were false, shown by his staring eyes and open mouth, and the tremulous emotion, accompanied with the hope of victory, expressed in the countenance of him who was casting the dice.¹ Taddeo's principal works were at Florence. He appears to have died in 1366.

Among all the *Giotteschi*, Stefano was he, if we are to believe the account of Vasari, who most improved upon his master. Vasari's judgment was founded on Stefano's then extant works, which have now unfortunately almost entirely perished. He particularly specifies a fresco of the Transfiguration in the cloisters of S. Spirito at Florence, in which the astonishment of the three apostles at the supernatural splendour was admirably displayed in their attitudes. Stefano appears to have advanced technical art by showing the forms of the limbs under the drapery, a thing not before attempted. He also improved on foreshortening, on the delineation of architecture, and on perspective. A still better fresco in the same place, somewhat obliterated in Vasari's time, yet not so much as entirely to conceal its merits, was that of S. Peter delivered by Christ from his peril at sea. From the excellence of these and other works, Stefano was called by contemporary artists the Ape of Nature.

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle dispute this account, and charge Vasari with being prejudiced in favour of Stefano as a fellow-countryman, and extolling him at the expense of the Sienese Ugolino, whose life he combines with that of Stefano.² Those gentlemen, not content with discovering Vasari's errors, which, if successfully done, is a benefit to art and literature, will often know their causes and even impute to that writer motives for their wilful commission which it is impossible that they,

¹ Vasari, t. i., p. 185.

² Vol. i., ch. 16.

or anybody else should know. If Ugolino was a Siennese by birth, he was a Florentine by education, having been the pupil of Cimabue, whose manner he constantly followed. All his chief works were executed at Florence; there is not, I believe, a single specimen of them at Siena. One of his pictures mentioned by Vasari, the Coronation of the Virgin, is now in the Florentine Academy;¹ but its authenticity is of course doubted by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Vasari's reason for combining his life with that of Stefano was their intimate friendship. Crowe and Cavalcaselle question this also, but without giving any grounds for their doubt. It would, indeed, be impossible to prove a negative; and even if it was not a fact, it suffices that Vasari believed it to be one. The usual resort of those who start novel theories is, not only to overthrow, if possible, all the evidence that makes against them, but also to destroy the credit of the writers in whose works it is found; and so in this case it is sought to make Vasari appear a very silly man, who invented stories from the most paltry and improbable motives.

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle remark that it is dangerous to say anything about Stefano's artistic merits, as nobody can now boast of any authentic knowledge of his works; a circumstance, one would think, which should have suggested a little more caution in disputing Vasari's estimate of them; in whose time there were not only considerable remains, but doubtless also authentic traditions. Rosini made diligent search for some specimens of Stefano, and succeeded, as he thought, in finding two. One of these, representing the Adoration of the Magi, is in the Brera Gallery at Milan (No. 350), and Rosini gives an engraving of the most important part of it. But it bears the name of Stefano *da*

¹ Galerie des anciens Tableaux, No. 1.

Zevio, a Veronese, and the date 1435, and is consequently a century later than the Stefano mentioned by Vasari, who alludes to no such picture. He describes, however, another little piece which Stefano painted for a tabernacle ordered by the Gianfigliuzzi on the Lung' Arno. The subject was the Madonna with the Bambino, who offers her a bird. Rosini succeeded in discovering a *replica* of this piece, and gives an engraving of it.¹ It entirely agrees with Vasari's description, and to judge from the plate, must be allowed, I think, to bear out his judgment, that Stefano's style approached towards the modern. But Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle totally misrepresent what Vasari says on this point. They charge him with placing Stefano in an equal rank with the moderns, and thus committing "an incarnate anachronism."² He says nothing of the sort, but only that Stefano "had begun to perceive *some ray* of the good and perfect modern manner."³ And he speaks of him throughout as only beginning to show this better method, which consisted in a nearer approach to reality. Hence it was that he was called the Ape of Nature; an epithet which Crowe and Cavalcaselle charge Vasari with having forged out of Albertini's account, who merely calls him Ape (*simia*). But the full appellation is given to him by Landino, who wrote a century before Vasari's time,⁴ and is quoted by C. and C. in the very same note! It seems to me that attacks like these derogate from the value of their learned and useful work. Vasari's admiration of Stefano is borne out by Ghiberti, who speaks

¹ "Storia," &c., t. ii., p. 72. The *replica* is now in the Lindenau Museum at Altenburg.—Max Jordan, ch. xvi., note 12.

² "Einen fleisch-gewordenen Anachronismus."—*Ibid.*, i. 331.

³ "Pare che cominciasse a vedere un

certo lume della buona e perfetta maniera dei moderni."—t. i., p. 112.

⁴ His words are: "Stefano è nominato scimia della natura, tanto esprime qualunque cosa volle."—"Commento della divina Commedia," Proem.

of his works as very admirable, and showing great learning.¹

Andrea di Cione, commonly called Orcagna, was one of the best of Giotto's immediate successors. Like many artists of that time, he was at once painter, sculptor, and architect, and seems to have excelled in the last two arts more than in the first. He was also a poet, but in that way hardly attained to mediocrity. Of his education little is known. He is supposed to have received instruction in painting from his elder brother Bernardo, whom, however, he soon surpassed. They worked together in Santa Maria Novella, but the frescoes attributed to them in the Campo Santo at Pisa were done independently, that of Hell being assigned to Bernardo, and those of the Triumph of Death and the Last Judgment to Andrea.

In describing the former of these two pieces (*supra*, p. 97), I have adverted to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's opinion that none of these Pisan frescoes is the work of Orcagna. For this opinion they adduce not a scrap of historical or documentary evidence; it rests entirely on considerations of style. Their judgment of style must be taken at their own estimate; but perhaps the question may be ventured whether it is to be preferred to Vasari's, himself an eminent artist, living three centuries nearer to Orcagna's time, when the frescoes in question were in much better condition, and the traditions concerning them more capable of proof. Further, from the way in which Crowe and Cavalcaselle treat Vasari, it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that their opinion in the matter may not be altogether without bias.

Conclusions drawn from style in painting necessarily rest on an uncertain foundation. Who that was acquainted only with Wilkie's earlier pictures would recognize his

¹ "Molto mirabili e fatte con grandissima dottrina."—Ap. Rosini, t. ii., p. 70.

hand in his later ones? Artists, and even some who have had but a very short life, have had two or three different styles; of which, perhaps, the most remarkable instance is Raphael. And Vasari bears testimony to a change in that of Orcagna when he tells us that he repainted in the church of S. Croce, with some alterations, and in a much better manner, the Triumph of Death which he had previously done at Pisa.¹ This fresco was extant in Vasari's time, who describes it from ocular inspection. Its existence, therefore, cannot be reasonably doubted, nor that it was painted by the same hand that did the fresco in the Campo Santo; for that another man should have painted it would have been a plagiarism so impudent, and so easily detected, as to exceed all belief. This fresco, and the comparison of it with the original one, must have made Vasari a good judge of Orcagna's style. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, however, deny even its existence. As it may be asserted, they say, that we possess nothing of Orcagna's at Pisa, the story that he painted a *replica* of the Triumph of Death in S. Croce falls of itself. This reminds one of a way of arguing common enough with a certain school of German writers: first to assume as proved a view which rests merely on conjectural inference, and then to use it as an argument for demolishing some other position. In this case it seems to me more reasonable to reverse the method, and to argue from the copy the existence of an original by Orcagna. In any other case, Vasari must either have wilfully forged this story, or he must have been deceived in his opinion. Nobody, I suppose, would charge him with a forgery for which he could have had no possible motive; and that, writing as he did in the full blaze and meridian day of Florentine art, he should have been deceived in such a matter, surpasses all belief.

¹ "Opere," t. i., p. 196.

He was no doubt only repeating the received opinion of his time; and if, as a professed critic and historian of art, he should have committed so gross a blunder, he would have covered himself with eternal ridicule.

It might at least have been supposed that in abjudicating the Pisan frescoes from Orcagna, Crowe and Cavalcaselle would have had good grounds for attributing them to somebody else. But they acknowledge their inability to do so; adding, however, that this much is certain, that the Lorenzetti, two brother-artists of Siena, were well capable of them;¹ and that it may be still more confidently said that the whole cycle of these three frescoes proceeds from one hand, and that of a Siennese painter. With regard to the first of these assertions, it may be remarked that by such a method we might prove anything whatever: it might be shown that Pope, and not Dryden, translated the "*Æneid*," and that Raphael, not Leonardo da Vinci, painted the famous Last Supper. It may be admitted that the three frescoes, if not absolutely by one hand, are by cognate hands, namely, those of Orcagna and his brother Bernardo; but however confident Crowe and Cavalcaselle may be in their opinion that they are from the hand of a Siennese, it may be permitted to ask for some proof. What they tell us about the style of Orcagna and that of the Lorenzetti is only calculated to make us doubt their conclusion. They say that in Orcagna's finer traits may be recognized the Siennese influence of Simon and the Lorenzetti; and again that the style of Ambruogio Lorenzetti betrays emulation of that of the Florentines.² Thus, while Orcagna verged towards the Siennese style, and Lorenzetti towards the Florentine, the result must surely have been a mixture the component parts of which it would have been very difficult to discriminate.

¹ B. ii., S. 27.

² Ibid., SS. 4 and 290.

Again, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle find a school-likeness between these frescoes and those of Buffalmacco and Antonio Vite, also in the Campo Santo. But these artists were Florentines. Finally, in explaining the cause of Vasari's assumed mistake—for they will not only detect his errors, but also know the origin of them—we are told that he was misled by the name of Andrea, belonging to an artist commonly called Andrea da Firenze, who after the death of Orcagna seems to have done something in the Campo Santo.¹ The supposed Sienese style, therefore, again becomes Florentine. And from all this confusion we can only conclude that Crowe and Cavalcaselle are not clear in the matter.

Indeed on their own showing they had but very slender and inadequate means for forming an opinion. These frescoes, which in Vasari's time were in comparatively good condition—and he had probably seen that of the *Inferno* before it was restored by Sollazzino in 1530—are now from the effects of time and repainting in so damaged a condition that any judgment of the style can only be formed from small portions of the *Inferno* and the *Triumph*. These, it is said, are nothing like Orcagna's work in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella. But those frescoes also are in the most ruinous condition.² And even if they were in a good state, they would afford no just criterion, inasmuch as they were the joint work of the brothers; whilst in the Campo Santo, as before observed, they worked independently.

A further argument in favour of Orcagna's authorship of the *Triumph of Death* may be drawn from the fact that the verses put into the mouths of some of the personages are found in Orcagna's published poems.³ This fact is not mentioned by Crowe and Cavalcaselle,

¹ Bk. ii., S. 27 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26, and notes 55-59.

³ Vasari, "*Opere*," t. i., p. 194.

though they give the verses. The circumstance that Ghiberti does not mention the Pisan frescoes among Orcagna's works is of no weight against positive testimony as to their authorship. Vasari used Ghiberti's book,¹ and must therefore have been aware of that circumstance, which would naturally have made him cautious as to what he said. And he criticises the work as one from which little could be gained, as it was much too brief, for the purpose of giving Ghiberti space to talk about himself.²

Another remarkable follower of Giotto was Tommaso di Stefano, called, from his close connection with that master, Giotto. His history, and even his personalty and name, are obscure. He followed Giotto's style, though with some improvements, more nearly than any other of that school. His works were chiefly executed at Florence and Assisi. The best of them have perished; but there is a Deposition of his with portraits of the donators, in the Uffizi, originally painted in tempera for the Church of S. Remigio at Florence, where it was in Vasari's time, and whence it was brought into this gallery in 1842 (No. 7). Vasari's praises of it are not overcharged. It shows a considerable advance in art. The heads especially, and the expression of grief in them, are admirably depicted, yet without destroying their beauty, as is too often the case. It may be observed, however, that there is a want of keeping in the size of the figures; the drawing is hard, and the hands and feet defective. There are two small pictures attributed to Giotto in the Florentine Academy (Salle des petits Tableaux).

Agnolo Gaddi may be mentioned more for his having

¹ He used a MS. which had belonged to Cosimo Bartoli, and is now in the Magliabechi Library.—Reumont, "Tav. Cronol.," 1455.

² "Vita di Lorenzo Ghiberti," t. ii., p. 89 *seq.*

been the master of Antonio Veneziano, whom he brought to Florence, than for any merits of his own. Antonio's chief work was the continuation of the story of S. Rainier in the Pisan Campo Santo, which had been begun by Simone Memmi. Vasari is loud in his praises of these works, and they are not disputed by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle; though Rosini, who had seen them in his youth, when they were in a much better condition than they are at present, thinks that Vasari goes too far in calling them the best things in the Campo.¹ Antonio's chief merit was the naturalness and liveliness of his figures, which thus marked a great step towards the modern style.

Among Antonio's pupils was Starnina, reputed one of the masters of Masolino da Panicale and of Fra Angelico. According to the consentient opinion of all the writers upon art, both before and after the time of Vasari, as enumerated by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle,² namely, Albertini, Borghini, Thomas Patch, Lastri, Lanzi, Agincourt, Rumohr, Gaye, Tanzini, Rosini, and many more, the earliest frescoes in the Brancacci chapel in the church of the Carmine at Florence, were the work of Masolino. But all these, it is said, wrote without any certain knowledge, and followed one another in a vicious circle. The proof of this is found in certain frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona, near Milan, discovered not long ago under the whitewash which must have covered them, seemingly, in the time of Vasari, since he mentions them not. Those on the roof, done in 1428, bear the name of Masolinus de Florentia. But it is those in the Baptistery which are used to prove that the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel cannot have been done by Masolino, and certainly, to judge by the plate, the difference of style is considerable. These bear the date of 1435;

¹ "Storia," t. ii., p. 107.

² B. ii., S. 86.

but, as it is hardly probable that Masolino should have been employed so many years in the church, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle assert, in order to support their theory and without any probable grounds, that this date is a forgery. On the other hand, Burckhardt's Editor more probably holds the frescoes in the Baptistery to be by a different artist, and in a style resembling that of the frescoes in S. Clemente at Rome, generally attributed to Masaccio.¹ Into this long question, however, I cannot enter, especially as I have not seen the frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona. But it is wonderful how elastic this argument from style may become in skilful hands. It is argued that it cannot be proved from style that certain portions of the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel are by Masolino, and certain others by Masaccio. One might, it is said, with equal justice assert that the *Disputa* and the *Deliverance of S. Peter* in the Vatican must have been done by two different artists, as Raphael has executed the latter with much greater breadth and grandeur of style. In like manner Masaccio, a genial youth of twenty-five, evidently became more perfect at every new attempt in the delineation of the human form. A curious argument in the mouth of writers whose conclusions are so often drawn from style!

The fresco perhaps improperly called the "*Disputa*" has been considered by Passavant and other good judges as one of the best of Raphael's as regards grandeur of style, though some few technical defects have been noticed. But this by the way. It may be asked if Masaccio could paint so differently that some of his works might be ascribed to another hand, why may not the same be true of Masolino? And then what becomes of the argument from the frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona?

¹ "Cicerone," S. 801 and note.

On the whole, it seems to me to be safest to follow the generally received opinion that the earlier Brancacci frescoes relating to S. Peter were painted by Masolino.¹ They show a much broader and grander style than anything previously done, and an approach to that of Masaccio; but not a nearer one than might be naturally found between master and pupil.²

Masaccio appears to have been born about the year 1402, and it is thought that he continued the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel in 1428. His first works on an important scale were the frescoes alluded to a little before in the Chapel of the Passion in the Church of S. Clement at Rome. They have been much damaged by re-painting, so that the original artist, whether he be Masaccio or Masolino da Panicale, as some with less probability think, is answerable only for the designs and the outlines. Though the figures are in general stiff, yet they show a considerable advance on the *Giotteschi*. Some of them display life and energy; especially the man about to turn the wheel in the fresco of S. Catherine, and the horsemen in the Crucifixion. The same piece has much expression in the swooning Virgin and other figures at the foot of the cross, though somewhat exaggerated and theatrical. Masaccio, doubtless, improved himself at Rome by the study of antique sculptures, more plentiful there than at Florence; perhaps also by contact with other painters. On his return to Florence his reputation must have been well established, as he seems to have been imme-

¹ Albertini, who wrote only some sixty or seventy years after Masaccio's death, and was contemporary with Filippino Lippi, who, from his works in the Brancacci chapel, must have been well acquainted with its history, says that half of it was painted by Masolino and half by Masaccio, except the Crucifixion of S. Peter, which was done by

Lippi. See Albertini's "Memoriale" (published in 1510), printed at the end of the second volume of Max Jordan's Translation of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's work, p. 442.

² There is an engraving of a portion of them in Rosini, t. ii., p. 166, and of all in Agincourt.

diately employed in the Church of the Carmine. By way of proof, however, he was first required to paint a figure of S. Paul, as Masolino had also done one of S. Peter. This figure was extant in Vasari's time, who is loud in his praises of it, not only on account of its grandeur, but also of its skilful foreshortening to show it in just proportions when viewed from below. In this art, Vasari says, he excelled Uccello. His other advances on previous painters were in the drawing of the nude; in perspective, both linear, which he had learned from Brunelleschi, and aërial, so as to show distance by the just gradation of tints. He also made his figures stand firmly on the ground, whilst those of previous artists seemed to be on tiptoe.

Before working in the Brancacci Chapel, Masaccio painted in the church a view of the procession at its *Sagra*, or consecration, with many portraits of those who formed part of it. This has unfortunately perished; but a bold and apparently hasty sketch for it, now in the Uffizi, bears out Vasari's description of the admirable way in which the sizes, ages, and characters of the different persons were portrayed.

The frescoes in the chapel that can be incontestably assigned to Masaccio, are:—The Expulsion of Adam and Eve; S. Peter preaching; S. Peter baptising; Peter and John giving alms; S. Peter accompanied by S. Paul healing by his shadow; The Tribute Money; S. Peter *in cathedra*, and the resuscitation of a youth. This last, however, was in great part finished by Filippino Lippi; from whose hand, also, is S. Paul visiting S. Peter in prison, and the deliverance of the latter Apostle by the Angel.

The figures of Adam and Eve in the Temptation and the Expulsion seem connected with the other frescoes only as a sort of introduction, typifying the original cause

of Christ's mission and of the works of his Apostles. I have attributed the former to Masolino, as may not only be inferred from the accounts of historians but also from its style. The figures are more statuesque and have less nature than those in the Expulsion; above all, they are cold and uninteresting, having not that life and action which Masaccio would certainly have imparted to them. The Expulsion, on the other hand, is portrayed in the most lively and striking manner. Adam, with conscious shame and bitter repentance, bows down his head and covers his face with both hands. Eve's uplifted countenance shows unutterable woe. Of the merit of this performance there cannot be a surer proof than that Raphael copied it, almost trait for trait, in his design for the same subject in the Loggie of the Vatican. And he hardly improved upon it. By showing Eve raising her right hand to her bosom instead of the left he may perhaps have made finer lines; but her face has not the expression of Masaccio's Eve, which, despite her agony, retains some traces of the beautiful. The figure of Adam is almost identical, except that Raphael has omitted the appropriate fig-leaves. The Angel, however, is, I think, an improvement. In Masaccio's fresco he hovers in the air, and points out the way that the exiles should take; but the act of hovering is not very well rendered. Raphael's Angel is the best figure in the piece. He has descended on earth, and expels Adam by placing one hand on his shoulder, while the other holds a sword. But, for the Loggie, Raphael made only small sketches in sepia, which were painted by his pupils. There is a drawing for the subject in the Uffizi collection. In representing the Temptation, Raphael took good care not to imitate Masolino's. Nothing can well differ from it more than the picture of that subject in the Loggie, and the incomparably finer one in the corner

of the ceiling in the Stanza della Segnatura. Both are full of lively and natural action ; in the latter, Eve is perhaps one of the finest female figures that Raphael ever drew.

Peter preaching, baptizing, giving alms, and healing by his shadow, are all given by Masaccio with great nature as well as dignity. In the baptism, the naked youth shivering with cold is admirably rendered, but now somewhat damaged. The fresco of the Tribute Money has sometimes been considered the finest of the series. But, as before observed,¹ it appears to me unfortunate in its composition. It would be impossible to conjecture, from the principal group alone, what it is that Christ is commanding to be done, and consequently, in order to show forth the story, Peter is thrice introduced in the act of doing three different things. And that all these three acts are exhibited in one and the same painting is unmistakably shown by the circumstance before adverted to, that one of the Apostles is calling Christ's attention to the payment, while He is still giving directions to Peter to go and fetch the money ! This is one of the very worst examples of a double, or treble, moment that I remember to have seen.

The figures in this piece are well arranged and natural, but hardly above common nature. The action of Christ is good, but his head has not much elevation. S. Peter, in the central group, is the noblest figure in the piece. Vasari adverts to a trait of nature more perceptible, perhaps, in his time than at present—the reddened face of Peter, caused by his stooping down to the fish. The background forms a good specimen of Masaccio's landscape painting.

The fine fresco of S. Peter and S. Paul accused before Nero by Simon Magus was formerly attributed to

¹ *Supra*, p. 118.

Masaccio, but is now commonly assigned to Filippino Lippi. Gaye was the first who made this alteration.¹ The authorship is a question on which a good deal may be said on both sides. Albertini, whose "Memoriale" was published in 1510, only five years after Filippino's death,² attributes to him the Crucifixion of S. Peter in the same fresco, but says nothing about the Accusation. It may be possible, however, that he indicated the whole fresco by the result and principal action. Vasari had attributed the piece to Filippino in his first edition, but does not mention it in his second,³ and this omission is used by Rosini as an argument that he had changed his opinion. But in that case he would surely have mentioned Masaccio's name; if, indeed, the omission did not arise, as is most probable, from carelessness or doubt. Gaye, in proof of his view, adduces the portraits of Masaccio and Filippino in Vasari's second edition, the former of which is taken from the last Apostle on the left of Christ in the central group, and the second from the youth in the corner behind Nero. It is the head of a very young man, as Filippino is said to have been when he painted in this chapel. And, though these portraits are done in a very rough way, still the identity of them may be clearly recognized. Another argument in favour of Filippino may perhaps be drawn from the situation of the fresco. The painting of the chapel seems to have been begun at the top, as was usual on account of the scaffoldings; and this fresco, being in the lower row, may naturally not have been begun by Masaccio, when he quitted his labours there, and apparently also his life. Masaccio's unfinished fresco of the king's son resuscitated is also in the lower row.

¹ Rosini, "Storia," &c., ii., 184 *seq.*, and note 25, where the question is discussed.

"Memoriale" itself, published at the end of B. ii., S. 442.

³ Ros'ni, "Storia," ii., p. 192.

² Jordan, B. iii., S. 184. See the

However this may be, the great merit of this piece is unquestionable. Gaye called it the finest fresco in Florence; and at all events it may be confidently asserted that it is not surpassed by any other in this series. The story is told with great dramatic effect. The accuser with one hand lays hold on S. Peter's garment, and points with the other to the broken idol on the ground, symbolizing his attacks on the religion of Rome. S. Paul, who stands behind Peter, seems to be remonstrating with the accuser. The Emperor, with outstretched arm, is angrily addressing Peter. The remaining personages, some of whom may be witnesses, are listening attentively. The grouping, the types of the heads, though somewhat realistic and portrait-like, and the expression of the faces, are admirable. The crucifixion of S. Peter, which fills the remaining half of the fresco, is very far inferior, besides being repulsive by its subject. But the figure on the right, with his back to the spectator, has been copied by Andrea del Sarto in his fresco of the Death of S. Philip at the Annunziata.

It may be thought surprising that Filippino Lippi, at so youthful an age, should have been capable of such a work, especially as his later ones show a falling off instead of an improvement. But there are proofs in this chapel that he was not unequal to such a task. In the picture of S. Paul visiting S. Peter in prison, the latter's head is worthy of all admiration; while the noble attitude of Paul suggested to Raphael the figure of that saint preaching at Athens. In the Deliverance of S. Peter from prison the figure of the guard oppressed by heavy sleep, has never been surpassed. But the Angel is wanting in elevation and his countenance commonplace. In executing these frescoes, Filippino seems to have been inspired by the genius of the place, and the memory of his great predecessor.

I have entered somewhat at length into a description of this chapel because it shows Florentine art already adult, and because it became a sort of academy where subsequent painters formed their style, only introducing by degrees such further improvements as might still be wanting. The list given by Vasari includes the greatest names among the painters of Italy: Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo, Filippino Lippi, Verocchio, the two Ghirlandaji, Botticello, Lionardo da Vinci, Pietro Perugino, Fra Bartolommeo, Albertinelli, Lorenzo di Credi, Pontormo, with many others, and lastly the greatest of them all, Raphael and Michelangelo.

Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, a Dominican monk in that town, who from his extraordinary piety, and the character of his art, eventually obtained the name of Fra Angelico, though also a pupil of Masolino's and a student in the Brancacci Chapel, caught but little of the new Florentine style. In consequence probably of his monkish education and habits, he adhered more to that of Giotto, as seen in the poses of his figures, and the long, straight folds of his draperies. His faces are often of extreme beauty, but without much expression; he preferred tranquillity to the display of passion, and always painted sacred subjects. In short, as in his life so in his art, he was exclusively monastic. His drawing shows little anatomy or realism; his colouring is of extreme brilliancy, especially in his tempera pictures, but wants chiaroscuro and relief. A good example of these qualities is his picture of the Crucifixion, in the Florentine Academy. One might fancy it an enlarged miniature; and Angelico began life as a *miniature*; but probably most of those now attributed to him are the work of an elder brother. Throughout life he painted small pictures, and they are probably his best. His first efforts in fresco were in the church of S. Mark at

Florence, for which he painted an altar-piece and a Crucifixion in the cloisters. He repeated this subject in the chapter-room on a larger scale, with many figures and the two thieves, but hardly with so good effect. It is poor in composition, the figures tame and stiff. The colouring is brilliant, except the sky, which is a dingy red. It is said to have been re-painted; but may it not have been originally intended as a portent accompanying the Crucifixion? The three little pictures in the cells upstairs, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Maries at the Sepulchre, and the Adoration of the Magi are gems of colour. But the large Annunciation at the top of the stairs, with the simpering, unmeaning faces of the Virgin and Angel, almost make one wish that the Fra had always confined himself to miniature.

Having been called to Rome, he executed for the private chapel of Pope Nicholas V., called the Lorenzo Chapel, some frescoes from the history of S. Stephen. They are executed in a freer and bolder style than any other of his that I have seen. Among them, that of S. Stephen preaching struck me as by far the finest; but the light is bad, and some of the frescoes cannot be very well made out. Whilst at Rome he was summoned for a time to Orvieto; but of his works in that city, there will be occasion to speak further on. His sojourn at Rome no doubt effected a great alteration in his style. His pictures are very numerous, and it would be impossible to enumerate them. One of the most remarkable is a picture of the Coronation of the Virgin, with the miracles of S. Dominic in the *gradini*, painted for the church of that saint at Fiesole. It was carried off by the French in 1812 and formed part of the Musée Napoléon, but is now in the Louvre (No. 214). It has his usual gilding and bright colouring, but somewhat faded. The names of some of the personages are inscribed.

The seven little pictures of the *gradini* are exquisitely done. Some fine specimens will be found in the Florentine Academy, Salle des petits Tableaux, among which may be specially mentioned a miniature of the Crucifixion, with the two Maries. It is under glass, and a perfect gem.

Among Angelico's pupils are said to have been Gentile da Fabriano and Benozzo Gozzoli, to whom there will be occasion to revert further on; but though these artists partake somewhat of Angelico's style, they can hardly be said to be of his school. For his manner was too peculiar, too exclusively his own, to be capable of general imitation; and hence he cannot be regarded as having materially contributed to the progress of Art.

Having thus sketched the history of Florentine painting till it reached comparative perfection in the hands of Masaccio and his school, I will now briefly trace its progress at Siena.

Duccio di Buoninsegna has been considered as the proper founder of the Sienese school of painting. He flourished at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, but the exact dates of his birth and death are unknown. He retained a good deal of the old traditional manner, but imparted to it much sweetness and grace. His drawing was careful and minute, but wanted the boldness of the Florentines. From this quality, and the brilliancy of his colouring, Duccio excelled in tempera and easel painting more than in fresco; and these features characterized the school which he founded. It had truth to nature rather than idealism, grace rather than majesty and force.

Duccio painted at Florence, Pisa, Lucca, and Pistoia, but the chief remaining specimens of his works are at Siena. The principal one is a *Maietà*, or Virgin

enthroned, painted for the cathedral of that city in 1308, and installed there with great pomp, in the same manner as Cimabue's Madonna had been at Florence. Such proceedings show what a lively feeling for Art had been awakened in Italy. At the back of this large picture are twenty-six small ones, showing events in the life of Christ. The best of them is Christ before Pilate. Rosini thinks that it resembles a bas-relief;¹ and it is possible that Duccio, when at Pisa, may have learnt something from the works of Niccolò Pisano. There are two or three pictures by Duccio in the gallery at Siena.

Ugolino and Segna, the immediate followers of Duccio, are not of much importance, and I shall go on at once to Simone Memmi, or as it is now the fashion to call him, Simone Martini. In the time of Michelangelo and Vasari, all Florence appears to have styled him Memmi, which was the name of his father-in-law, and Martini his own patronymic; but in those days it was a common practice to assume the name of the wife's family, just as in some parts of France at the present time the wife's name is added to that of the husband, and one needs go no further than Boulogne to see such double names over most of the shop doors.² Vasari knew that there had been an exchange of names,³ but thought that Lippo had assumed that of his brother-in-law, instead of the reverse. He probably did not think of inquiring into the matter, as the name of Memmi appears to have finally adhered to Simone, as he is called "Memmius" in his Latin epitaph, unless indeed that be a forgery of Vasari's. In those days, the Christian name seems to have been more important than the surname in families not noble, and

¹ Storia, &c., t. i., p. 186.

² This variation of surname is exemplified in the Lorenzettis, Pietro retaining that patronymic, whilst Ambrogio called himself Laurati. In like manner,

Sandro Filipepi adopted the surname of his master Botticello.

³ "Lippo, lasciando il proprio nome." — Vasari, "Opere," t. i., p. 178.

Simon was commonly known to his contemporaries only as Simone da Siena.

Simone seems to have been born about the year 1283, and as he was sixty years old at his death, he must have died about 1343. Hence he must have been two or three years older than Giotto; and on this ground Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle convict Vasari of error in calling him Giotto's pupil. But is such a slight difference of age conclusive proof that he may not have taken lessons from Giotto? That painter was a very precocious one. It is probable that Simone may have availed himself of his instructions, for but little certain is known of his life.

I shall here confine myself to the frescoes attributed to him in the Cappellone degli Spagnuoli in the Church of S. Maria Novella, as they must attract all visitors to Florence by their subject, their execution, and the portraits said to be contained in them. In Michelangelo's time, as Mr. Ruskin observes, all Florence attributed them to Taddeo Gaddi and Simon Memmi, for such is Vasari's account of them. Speaking of the joint efforts and cordiality of the two artists, Mr. Ruskin says: "This pretty and, according to all evidence by me attainable, entirely true tradition has been all but lost among the ruins of fair old Florence, by the industry of modern mason-critics, who, without exception, labouring under the primal (and necessarily unconscious) disadvantage of not knowing good work from bad, and never therefore knowing a man by his hand or his thoughts, would be in any case sorrowfully at the mercy of mistakes in a document; but are ten-fold more deceived by their own vanity, and delight in overthrowing a received idea, if they can."

"Farther, as every fresco of this early date has been retouched again and again, and often painted half over;

and as, if there has been the least care and respect for the old work in the restorer, he will now and then follow the old lines, and match the old colours carefully in some places, while he puts in clearly recognizable work of his own in others—two critics, of whom one knows the first man's work, and the other the last's, will contradict each other almost to any extent on the securest grounds. And there is then no safe refuge for an uninitiated person but in the old tradition, which, if not literally true, is founded assuredly on some root of fact, which you are likely to get at, if ever, through *it* only.”¹

Such is Mr. Ruskin's view of arguments from style. It is common enough to suspect in others our own propensities; and so in this case Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle accuse Vasari of following their favourite method, and of attributing the frescoes in the Spanish Chapel to Simone merely on account of their style. But an argument which, in their mouths, is conclusive, has no force when used by another; and though Vasari was in all probability a good judge of style, it here proves nothing at all, though it is allowed that the frescoes are in harmony with Memmi's style, and that the painter of them may have used some of his compositions.² The fact, however, is that the charge rests only on suspicion, for Vasari adduces no such argument. He probably followed either documentary evidence, or tradition. According to Rosini, the MSS. of the Convent of S. Maria Novella assign the painting of the Spanish Chapel to Memmi.³ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle appeal to the silence of Ghiberti, of the worth of whose negative testimony I have before spoken. As they have attempted to overthrow the received tradition, it might

¹ “Mornings in Florence,” p. 105 *seq.*

² B. i., S. 309, and B. ii., S. 256.

³ “Storia,” t. ii., p. 51.

be expected that they are able to give some tolerable account, at least, of the author of such remarkable paintings. But all they can tell us is that he was a Florentine by descent, a Sienese in style, whence it is concluded that he must have been Andrea de Florentia! It is acknowledged, indeed, that this has only great probability. But it seems to me that to trace a man's descent through his pictures has no probability at all, especially if the style of those pictures differs from that of his birthplace. But to turn from this digression to the frescoes themselves.

These paintings are valuable in surveying the progress of Art, not so much for their execution as their subject, which shows an emancipation from the usual monotonous routine of Scripture history; and if, as is said, the subject was proposed by the monks of the convent themselves, and was meant to redound to the credit of their order, the fact is still more significant, as showing enlarged views even among ecclesiastics. It is a grand allegory, relating to S. Dominic and his order, and the final triumph, through them, of the Church Militant over the heretics who attacked it. According to the received account, Taddeo Gaddi painted the four compartments of the ceiling, and one of the four sides. In the ceiling were represented S. Peter saved from perishing at sea, the Resurrection of the Saviour, the Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. In the painting of the Resurrection was shown a supernatural light proceeding from Christ's body; a trait afterwards borrowed by Correggio, Raphael, and others. Taddeo showed on one of the sides the authority of S. Thomas Aquinas, who sat *in cathedra* with the defeated heretics Sabellius, Arius, and Averroes,¹ at his feet. On one side of him were S. Matthew, S. Luke, Moses, Isaiah,

¹ According to Rosini, "Storia," ii. 54.

and Solomon; on the other, S. John, S. Mark, S. Paul, David, and Job. Over them hovered the four cardinal Virtues; beneath the conquered heretics were the seven sacred and the seven profane Sciences.

Memmi painted on one side Christ at Calvary, His death, and His descent to Limbo; on another, the principal events in the life of S. Dominic; on one half of the third, the Church Militant; on the other half, the Church Triumphant, with the rout of the heretics by the Dominicans, figured in the form of black and white dogs defending the fold. The portraits of celebrated personages introduced into these frescoes are of great interest to the modern spectator. Among them are those of Cimabue, Giotto, Arnolfo, Petrarch, and Laura; but their authenticity is disputed. The controversy partly turns on the question whether Memmi went twice to Avignon; but it is too long to enter into here.

Among the Sienese school, the two brothers Lorenzetti, Pietro and Ambrogio, occupy a foremost place. The exact dates of their birth and death are unknown, but their works were executed in the first half of the fourteenth century. Pietro emulated the manner of Giotto, then diffused throughout Tuscany, and improved upon it, in so far as beauty is concerned. He gave brightness to the gloomy colouring of the Sienese, and introduced in other respects a better style. He painted in several Italian cities; but perhaps his best known work is that of the Hermits of the Thebaïs, in the Pisan Campo Santo. There is a sort of *replica* of this in a small picture in the corridor of the Uffizi (No. 12), though the composition is somewhat different. The figures are much better than those of the fresco, but the same cannot be said of the landscape. It is probably from this difference of style that the picture is adjudicated from Pietro by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle,

who will make no allowance for any difference in the same artist, except when it suits their purpose, though on this occasion the comparison is between a large fresco and a small tempera picture.

Ambrogio, apparently the younger brother, was superior to Pietro not only as an artist but also as a philosopher and man of learning. He excelled in colouring, as shown in a remarkable painting of a storm in the frescoes relating to S. Francis in the church dedicated to that saint at Siena. His picture of a Deposition, to judge from an engraving in Rosini,¹ shows considerable expression combined with dignity. His chief works are at Siena, but there are specimens of them at Florence, in the Uffizi and in the Academy; No. 17, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, dated in 1342, more remarkable for its colouring than drawing, and two pieces in the Salle des petits Tableaux, divided into compartments representing events in the lives of S. Nicholas of Bari and S. Procul.

The early school of Sieneſe painting left not its mark on Italian art in general as did that of Florence, and I ſhall only further mention Taddeo Bartoldi, who flouriſhed in the laſt half of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth. He died in 1422, and was thus contemporary with Maſaccio; but a comparison of the two men will ſhow how far the Florentines had outſtripped their Sieneſe rivals. Bartoldi did not much improve even upon the ſtyle of his preceding fellow-countrymen. It may be remarked that in painting the chapel of the Town- houſe of Siena he departed from the uſual practice by introducing the figures of famous Romans inſtead of the ſcriptural characters commonly adopted.

In the firſt corridor of the Uffizi at Florence, may be

¹ Tom. ii. p. 78.

gained a general idea of the origin and progress of the Renaissance both in that city and in Siena. The first picture is a Greek one, by Andreas Rico of Candia, who died at the beginning of the twelfth century.¹ Lanzi observes of this picture that it is a rude composition, but the colouring so brilliant as to excel all modern work. It has on a gold ground the Virgin with the infant Jesus, and two Angels with the symbols of the Passion. The Virgin is very plain, but there is some spirit in the child's head. The picture will serve to show the state of Art at the Risorgimento.

No. 2, by Cimabue, has the figure of S. Cecilia, enthroned, with a flower in one hand and a book in the other. She is surrounded with representations of eight events in her life, in small figures. The features of S. Cecilia are hard, but an improvement on the preceding Virgin. The small figures are not badly drawn, but hold their heads in strange positions. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle abjudicate the picture from Cimabue, and think it Giottesque.

No. 6, by Giotto, has our Lord praying in the garden, with two little scenes in the *gradino*, of Christ betrayed by Judas with a kiss, and stripped for crucifixion. The three Apostles are asleep; a figure close to them in prayer, has not half their size. The small figures in the *gradino* are easier than Cimabue's.

No. 7, Giotto, a Deposition, with the Maries, saints, and portraits of the donators, shows a considerable advance in art. I have already described this picture (p. 334).

The next five pictures, Nos. 8—12, are specimens of the Sienese school. Nos. 8 and 10 are by Simone Martini, or Memmi, and his brother-in-law, Lippo Memmi, and formed originally one picture, which stood in the

¹ Lanzi, t. i., p. 32 *seq.*

Cathedral of Siena. The most important piece is the Annunciation in the middle, which bears the date of 1333. The Angel, who, according to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, is rendered with an extraordinary exaggeration of tenderness, has a very sly and cat-like expression; the Virgin screws up her mouth, and seems disgusted with the Angel and his message. Altogether not a favourable specimen of the Sienese school.

Better ones are the two following, Nos. 11 and 12, by Pietro Laurati or rather Lorenzetti. The first is the Virgin and Child. The figures are somewhat stiff, the colouring florid, with a good deal of ultra-marine. Of No. 12, the Thebaïs, a better picture, I have already spoken.

Passing over some unimportant pictures, we come to a large tabernacle, with figures beyond life-size, by Fra Angelico. It may be regarded rather as a specimen of the Frate's larger style, than for any peculiar merits. No. 20, by Lorenzo Monaco, one of Angelico's pupils, is a charming composition, representing the Adoration of the Magi. The figures, about half the size of life, are well drawn, the colouring rich, but it is overloaded with gilding, as was then the vogue. The Virgin sits in the left-hand corner, with the infant Christ in her lap; behind her is the manger. Joseph sits near her, whilst one of the Kings, having laid aside his crown, kneels at her feet, offering homage and gifts to the new-born Saviour. Behind are two other Kings, who, with their suite and cavalcade, fill the remainder of the foreground and middle distance. The background consists of a mountainous landscape; in the sky is seen the star of Bethlehem.

The above pictures show art not yet arrived at maturity. Some of a rather later date are not only more perfect, but also remarkable as the earliest examples

of mythological subjects. Such are Nos. 21 and 28, the Marriage of Perseus, and a Sacrifice to Jupiter for the Liberation of Andromeda, by Piero di Cosimo; and No. 39, the Birth of Venus, by Botticelli (b. 1447). This last painter was of so eccentric a character as to suggest a slight touch of insanity. He delighted in practical jokes, yet enrolled himself among the *Piagnoni*, or followers of Savonarola; he abandoned painting, in which he might have made a fortune, to publish an edition of Dante with cuts, by which he ruined himself and was reduced to subsist on charity. But he had a good deal of poetical genius, as this picture of Venus wafted by the Winds, who scatter flowers over her, will show. It recalls the lines of Lucretius:—

“It Ver et Venus et Veneris prænuntius ante
Zephyrus.—”

Somewhat resembling it, but more extravagant, is his picture of Spring, in the Florentine Academy (Galerie des anciens Tableaux, No. 24). In the same collection (Galerie des grands Tableaux) are two or three good pieces by him on sacred subjects. I have already adverted to his picture of the Calumny of Apelles, in which the figure of Truth bears much resemblance to the Venus just described. He was one of the first to paint such nudities, and executed several for private individuals.

I can here do little more than mention the names of the painters, and a few of their works as specimens, who principally contributed during the fifteenth century to carry Tuscan art to that degree of perfection in which it was found by Lionardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Raphael.

Paolo Uccello (b. 1396), though not an artist of the first rank, and more a sculptor than a painter, improved landscape, foreshortening, and especially perspective, to

the study of which he was passionately devoted. He was also a good animal painter, particularly of birds, whence he got his name of Uccello. In the Chiostro Verde of S. Maria Novella are frescoes of his of the Flood and the Drunkenness of Noah, now much deteriorated. To these there will be occasion to return below (p. 366).

In the Uffizi is an easel picture by Uccello having a spirited though not quite correct representation of a cavalry fight (1re Corr. No. 29). There is a similar but better picture in our National Gallery of the Battle of Sant' Egidio.

Filippo Lippi (b. 1412?) was a correct and realistic painter, but cannot claim any very high rank in art. He is considered to have excelled in the arrangement of drapery. His greatest work, representing events in the life of the Baptist, is in the Cathedral at Prato. There is in the Florentine Academy (No. 41) a Coronation of the Virgin, with his own portrait, indicated by the scroll beneath it ("*Is perfecit opus*"). It is a brilliant picture, but overcrowded. A still worse defect is, that nearly all the figures are looking at the spectator, instead of attending to what is going on, as Raphael shows them in his picture in the Vatican. Moreover, the scene being represented in a building, has more the air of an earthly than a heavenly ceremony. There is in the Uffizi (No. 1307) a far superior picture of his of the Virgin adoring the infant Christ. Another in the Pitti Palace.

Benozzo Gozzoli (b. 1424) was a pupil of Fra Angelico's, and a student of Masaccio's works. Their joint influence may perhaps be traced in that combination of grace and naturalness found in his works. He had a lively sense of beauty, as shown in his landscapes and architecture, in which he opened a new path, as well as

in his figures, but his men are deficient in force. He helped Angelico in the Cathedral at Orvieto. The richness of his imagination is shown by his frescoes from the Old Testament on the north wall of the Pisan Campo Santo ; to which I shall return. His best work, according to Vasari, is S. Thomas Aquinas and the Doctors, now in the Louvre. His easel pictures are unimportant.

Antonio Pollaiuolo (b. 1433) was bred as a sculptor, and his paintings are remarkable for the display of anatomy, and for force and hardness rather than beauty. There is a good example of his peculiar style in our own National Gallery, the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, one of his best works. Two or three small pictures in the Uffizi.

The style of Verrocchio (b. 1432) has considerable resemblance to Pollaiuolo's. He also was a sculptor rather than a painter, and followed painting more as a pastime than a profession. His pictures are consequently rare. The Baptism of Christ, in the Florentine Academy (No. 43), is a good example of his style. He is more remarkable as having been the master of Lionardo da Vinci than for his own works. The story runs that the angel on the left in the above picture was done by Lionardo, and that Verrocchio, finding himself surpassed by his pupil, abandoned painting. There are good specimens of his bas-relief in that for the tomb of Madame Tornabuoni, in the Uffizi, and some in the Bargello. In round sculpture he did not succeed so well.

Luca Signorelli should be mentioned here, who, though not a Florentine, was a Tuscan, having been born at Cortona, probably in the year 1441. His great work (to which I shall return), representing the Last Day, in the Madonna Chapel of the Cathedral of Orvieto, marks an epoch in art in the drawing of the nude, in foreshortening and grouping. As an easel painter, he

was not very remarkable. There are specimens of him in this way in the Uffizi; No. 36, the Virgin and Child, with naked shepherds in the background. The heads are commonplace; the nude figures well done, except the little S. John. A better specimen is No. 1291, a round picture of a Holy Family, life-size. He was not remarkable for colouring.

Baccio della Porta (b. 1469), more commonly known as Fra Bartolommeo, the name which he bore after enrolling himself among the Dominican monks of S. Marco, is another instance of the height to which painting was carried among the Florentine religious orders. He was a friend of Savonarola's, whose portrait he drew. Like Fra Angelico, he devoted his pencil entirely to sacred subjects. It may be observed that he avoided the more painful subjects of Christ's sufferings; for he excelled not in expression, and therefore preferred scenes of beauty and grandeur, and especially representations of the Madonna. One of the few exceptions to this remark is the Descent from the Cross in the Pitti Palace. His fresco of the Last Judgment in Sta. Maria Nuova, now terribly obliterated, was the first work which stamped him as a great artist. But he preferred easel painting to fresco, in which kind his works are comparatively few.

Numerous pictures in the Florentine galleries will suffice to give a good idea of his style. The Descent, or Pietà, just alluded to (Pitti Gallery, No. 64), is among the finest of his pictures. The Virgin Mother sustains with one hand the head, with the other the arm, of the dead Christ, whose body is admirably depicted. The face of the Virgin shows profound grief, but there is not much expression in the other figures. S. John, who supports the body in a sitting posture, is rather commonplace, and appears totally unmoved; the face of the Magdalen, who embraces the Saviour's knees, is

half concealed by the foreshortening, which, however, as well as that of the body, is well executed. The colouring of the picture is richer than usual with this master, and bears some approach to the Venetian school. Compare it, in this respect, with the Vision of S. Bernard in the Academy (No. 66), the first which he painted after entering the cloister—a finely drawn picture, but wanting in harmony of colour. The vision is too *solid*. Bartolommeo seems to have learnt something by his visit to Venice. The Resurrection of Christ among the four Evangelists (Pitti Gallery, No. 159) is a grand picture, but somewhat cold and statuesque. The apostles show little or no emotion. The Virgin enthroned and the Marriage of S. Catherine (No. 208) is finely grouped, but the colouring somewhat sombre. S. Mark (No. 125), a colossal figure of much grandeur, and finely draped. But a painted colossus is, I think, worse than a sculptured one. This seems to be one of those pictures that have suffered by removal. It stood originally over the entrance to the choir in the Church of S. Marco, where, from its elevation, it may have had a better effect. The figures of Isaiah and Job in the Tribune of the Uffizi originally stood on each side of the Resurrection in the Pitti Palace. The Isaiah has sometimes been considered equal in grandeur to anything of Raphael's. The unfinished picture of the Madonna enthroned, with S. Anne behind adoring the Trinity (Uffizi, No. 1265), is perhaps, for grouping, the finest of all Bartolommeo's pictures. On the steps of the throne are two little cherubs; on each side various guardian saints of Florence. The second figure on the right of the Madonna is said to be a portrait of the artist himself. The face and attitude of S. Anne are very fine.

Fra Bartolommeo's style may perhaps be better

judged of by his drawings than by his paintings. There are many of the former in the Uffizi collection, finished with a great deal of care. His boldness and grandeur may be still better appreciated by inspecting his large designs in the Academy (Salle des Cartons).

Lionardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, who were coeval with Fra Bartolommeo, had no doubt some influence on his style; whilst Raphael, a somewhat later contemporary, appears to have gained in force by studying the works of all three. These artists may be said to represent painting when it had arrived at perfection, but, with regard to Fra Bartolommeo, the remark must be limited to technical excellence. For genius, and the higher qualities of painting, he can hardly be placed on a level with the other three artists. This defect may perhaps be attributed to his monkish habits. In his subjects he quitted not the old, traditional routine, which made no great demand upon invention. He repeated the well-worn themes, only with some alteration in poses and grouping, and some improvement in drawing and expression. In the light in which I have viewed painting, as a sister art of poetry, which must stir the imagination and awaken our emotions by the representation of some grand or tragical story, he was inferior to Lionardo, and even to Michelangelo, to whom, however, in point of dignity and grandeur, he bore the nearest resemblance. But all three were in this respect inferior to Raphael, who, in invention and composition, the highest qualities of art, is the greatest painter that ever lived. He might, indeed, have been equalled or surpassed by Lionardo in historical subjects, had that great painter devoted much attention to them; but he has left us only one grand work by which to estimate his genius.

I have thus briefly sketched the progress of Tuscan

art from its dawn to its meridian splendour. Several other schools of art had arisen in Italy and run a somewhat similar course; but it would be impossible to treat of them, even in the most cursory manner, in the compass of this work, which is meant only for a general survey of the nature of imitative art, and of the circumstances which influenced its progress. All these schools had their peculiar and distinctive characters. Among the most famous of them, the Venetian excelled in colour; the Parmesan, of which the chief was Correggio, in colouring and chiaroscuro and a certain naive simplicity; the Umbrian, of which Pietro Perugino was the head and founder, in grace and beauty; in which qualities, perhaps, it was equalled by the Bolognese, with the addition of more strength and variety. But this was a late and imitative school, which had its origin when painting had already reached perfection in other places. None of these schools can for a moment be compared with the Florentine for its influence on Italian art. The Roman school, which showed the supremacy of painting, was not indigenous but eclectic, and the masters who established it were principally Florentines. Even Raphael, its greatest ornament, though born at Urbino and educated at Perugia, owed his emancipation from the tameness of Perugino's manner, and the foundation of his unrivalled grandeur, to the lessons which he learned at Florence by studying the works of Masaccio, Lionardo, and Fra Bartolommeo.

It would be an endless task to consider the achievements of Italian art in its perfected state, and I must confine myself to an examination of a few works of the foremost masters in that particular class of subjects from Holy Writ, to which, at its origin, Italian painting had been pretty nearly restricted, and, even at its maturity, continued to supply the chief materials for its efforts.

These are, from the Old Testament, the Creation and Fall of Man, the Deluge and its consequences; and from the New, the Birth of the Virgin, the Birth of Christ and Adoration of the Magi, the Last Supper, the Resurrection, and the Last Day and Judgment. On the Crucifixion, the most prolific, perhaps, of all such subjects, I shall not touch, for reasons before intimated.

Of the subjects here mentioned, the first and the last, the Creation of man and his final Judgment, have been painted by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, and surely no artist was more fit to open and close the scenes of that supernatural and portentous cycle. The Creation afforded full scope for the display of his wonderful grandeur, without the temptation to indulge in the exaggeration, one might almost say the caricature, to which he too often yielded in representations of the horrible. It might be pleaded in excuse that Dante sometimes did the same thing. But the effects of a poetical description and of a painting are very different; and, as Lessing has so well shown, many things which revolt not the ear, are quite unfit to be exhibited to the eye.

Two enormous difficulties presented themselves in delineating the Creation of Adam and Eve; in the former subject, an adequate representation of the Almighty; in the latter the task of avoiding the ridiculous. The figure of Adam reclining on the rock, and starting into life at the touch of the Creator, is a miracle of art, and one of the finest nude figures that Michelangelo ever drew. The first man is fully developed; the muscles and articulations are beautifully shown, but without that anatomical display which, in the sculptures of this great artist, sometimes repulses by recalling the dissecting theatre. Of the figure of the Almighty it may be said that it satisfies the imagination so far as art is capable of doing so. He is necessarily anthropomorphous,

and our ideas of grandeur in human shape are soon exhausted. He is shown as a venerable old man with a flowing beard; but his person is hardly grander than that of some of the prophets in the same ceiling. The sublimity of the scene arises from the circumstance that, attended by his cherubim, he seems to sweep by as in a whirlwind, and to call forth life by an instantaneous touch, whilst Adam casts on him a glance of gratitude and adoration. The face of one of the angels, who gazes with surprise at the new creation, is wonderfully expressive.

The Creation of Eve is hardly so satisfactory. It is a repetition of the same subject under less favourable circumstances. The Almighty, instead of riding in the clouds, accompanied by the heavenly host, has descended upon earth, and stands alone, enveloped in a large mantle. There is nothing to show his divine nature; and, if it were not known from the subject, he might be taken for a mortal advanced in years. The attitude of the sleeping Adam, especially the posture of the left arm, is somewhat forced and unnatural. Behind him, Eve, who has emerged full-grown from his side, sinks on her knees, and lifts her hands in adoration to the Creator. Michelangelo has hardly been very happy in this picture, but he has perhaps evaded the enormous difficulties of the subject as skilfully as it was possible.

In painting the Fall, Michelangelo has combined the sin and its punishment in the same piece; the Tree of Knowledge entwined by the Serpent, forms the centre of the picture; on one side of it Adam and Eve are gathering its fruit, on the other they are expelled by the Angel. The double moment may be here defended, nay, perhaps admired, as showing in the most vivid manner, the sin and its consequence, and the swiftness of God's avenging wrath. The subject is treated in a

way quite different from that of Raphael, to which I have before alluded. It is Eve who reclines, and Adam, erect, plucks the apple for himself, instead of receiving it from her hand. This is a deviation from the Scriptural narrative, but affords an opportunity for the display of Eve's beauty. She is one of the finest female figures that Michelangelo ever drew, and shows that though his genius inclined to the grand and terrible, he was capable of depicting grace and loveliness.

In the Expulsion, Michelangelo is more original than Raphael, and improves upon Masaccio. Adam conceals not his face as he quits the earthly Paradise; but his head is slightly bowed, and the despair expressed in his countenance is enforced by the uplifted arms and hands. Eve cowers and conceals herself behind him, clutching and tearing her dishevelled locks. Both figures are true images of guilt and remorse. The avenging Angel is much superior both to Masaccio's and Raphael's. The act of hovering is admirably shown in the foreshortening; the sword, which, however, he holds in his left hand, points out the path by which there is no return. The first pair are both completely naked, as in Raphael's picture.

It will be necessary to return to the Sistine Chapel at the close of the vast cycle which I am surveying, but before quitting it now I will make a few remarks on this greatest monument, and as it were mausoleum, of Michelangelo's genius. It has been sometimes objected that he has desecrated the sanctity of the place by introducing profane figures, as the Sibyls in the ceiling and Charon and Minos in the Last Judgment. This can hardly be defended on the ground that Dante had done the like; since the "*Divina Commedia*" was not dedicated to any religious purpose, nor offered to a worshipper. A better defence may be found in the nature

of the Roman Catholic religion, especially as it existed in the pontificates of Julius II. and Leo X. Alexander VI. had by his vices degraded the chair of S. Peter below the throne of a temporal prince; Julius II. had raised it from the dirt, but by methods which savoured little of religion, and fit rather for an ambitious earthly sovereign than for the successor of S. Peter. Leo X. forwarded this earthly tendency by giving free scope to his classical tastes, and almost reduced Christianity to the paganism from which it had emerged, and had originally borrowed many of its rites and ceremonies. By the progress of classical learning, this had also become the prevailing inclination among the educated classes in Italy; and, apart from considering the matter on its abstract merits, may afford sufficient excuse for an artist who complied with it. For the Sibyls, indeed, a better defence may be offered. One of them, alluded to in Virgil's fourth Eclogue, was thought to have predicted the coming of the Messiah, and thus to have intimated that spreading of the Gospel among the Gentiles which was accomplished by S. Paul. Nor could there have been found in the Old Testament female figures worthy to replace them, and to be enthroned side by side with the great Prophets of the Jews. The lover of art, at all events, will have no reason to regret that Michelangelo followed the example of the great poet whom he so much admired, and to whose genius he was so near akin.

Of the five Sibyls that adorn the Sistine Chapel the Delphica is the finest. It accomplishes the difficult feat of combining female beauty with the highest degree of majesty. Vasari relates that Raphael, from the contemplation of this roof, to the sight of which he was admitted by Bramante in Michelangelo's absence, caught a new inspiration, the first fruits of which were the four

Sibyls he depicted in the Church of S. Maria della Pace at Rome. They are figures of exquisite grace and beauty. What Michelangelo thought of them appears from Cinelli's account,¹ that Raphael only got through Michelangelo's intervention the proper value of them from Agostino Chigi, who had ordered them; a story which may serve to show not only that the great Florentine did not entertain that mean and petty envy of his young rival that has been sometimes ascribed to him, but also perhaps that he found nothing in the performance to arouse his jealousy. In fact, no figures can well be more dissimilar than the Sibyls of these two great artists; Raphael's are extremely beautiful, but they do not approach the divine majesty and inspiration which characterize those of Michelangelo, and properly belong to such supernatural beings. The same must be said of other Sibyls by eminent artists, as Domenichino's Cumæan at Rome, Guercino's Samian in the Uffizi, and Guido's Persica in the same collection. They are all of rare beauty, but without the grandeur of Michelangelo's. That quality, however, has been ascribed by some critics to Peruzzi's Tiburtine Sibyl, in the Church of Fontegiusta at Siena. Standing before Augustus Cæsar, she points to a vision in the skies of the Madonna and Angels, as foretelling the advent of a new faith.² But I must confess that her figure strikes me as *stagey*, and wanting the unsophisticated majesty of Michelangelo's Delphica. His Prophets on the same ceiling can only be compared, in point of grandeur, with the sculptures of Pheidias.

That artist had also painted in the Sistine Chapel the Deluge and its consequences, but the figures are small,

¹ Quoted by Passavant, "Raphael d'Urbain," t. i., p. 157 (French edition, Paris, 1860).

² See engraving in Rosini's "Storia," v., 39.

and the subject is better displayed, if not in the paintings of Uccello, at all events in the magnificent frescoes of Benozzo Gozzoli in the Pisan Campo Santo. The frescoes of Uccello in S. Maria Novella are now nearly obliterated. To judge from engravings of them,¹ they show a wild and extravagant imagination, not, however, unbefitting such a scene. The hurricane accompanying the flood is well shown by the branches torn from the trees and the dishevelled, waving hair of some of the figures. In several of the bodies, Uccello has displayed his skill in foreshortening. The subject presents enormous difficulties to the pencil, and Benozzo has perhaps done right in his frescoes in the Campo Santo in confining himself to the more agreeable scenes which followed on the abatement of the Deluge. They were well suited to his powers, as requiring not much emotion and expression. There was no absorbing story to be told, the material progress of the world, rising once more, as it were, out of chaos, presented scenes of beauty and cheerfulness, in which his genius delighted. These frescoes, which fill nearly all the north wall of the Campo Santo, represent in connection with the Flood of Noah, the Vintage and Drunkenness of that Patriarch, the Curse of Ham, and the building of the Tower of Babel. The series is here divided by the Cappella Ammanati from Benozzo's other frescoes relating to the history of Abraham.

The fresco of the Vintage is perhaps the most attractive of the series. On the left are men plucking grapes, and filling with them baskets carried on the heads of maidens, to a large vat in which a man is treading them out. Some of these figures are remarkably graceful. In front stands Noah, accompanied by two children, in the delineation of whom Benozzo has not very well suc-

¹ See Rosini, ii., 164; Crowe and Cavalcaselle (Jordan), iii., 23.

ceeded. In the middle of the piece the Patriarch again appears, tasting the wine; and on the extreme right, beneath a building of rich architecture, where he lies inebriated, the undutiful Ham strips off his garments, and exposes him to the ridicule of Shem and Japheth. The female figure in the corner, who half conceals her face with her hands, has passed into a proverb as the "*Vergognosa del Campo Santo*."

The next fresco, the *Curse of Ham*, contains some good figures, but the subject of the piece is not well brought out. Were not the purport of it known, it would be difficult to say what was going on. Composition does not seem to have been Benozzo's forte. The beautiful landscape in the background reminds one of the Apennines, and shows the artist's taste for nature.

The building of the Tower of Babel, though not directly connected with the story of the Deluge, is interesting, from the numerous figures introduced, many of which are portraits, and from the magnificent, though extravagant and incorrect, architecture. Benozzo, as before observed, is at home in such scenes; the masons at work, and the groups of spectators surveying the rising building, form the whole subject. Among the portraits are those of Cosmo de' Medici, Lorenzo, Lorenzino, and Politian.

The rest of Benozzo's frescoes here have no relation to the Deluge. To that of the Adoration of the Magi there will be occasion to return further on.

The Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge are the three great marking epochs of the Old Testament history that are intimately connected with the general destiny of mankind. The first Revelation having, as S. Paul remarks, become effete, it became necessary to supplement it with a new one, the Christian dispensation; and

the Roman Catholic Church, as its ostensible head and representative, naturally preferred that religious pictures should be taken from the New Testament, and the legends connected with it, rather than from the Old. Hence the art of the Renaissance chiefly consists of subjects relating to the history of Christ. From the multitude of these my limits will only allow me to select, for observation and comparison, a few which mark an epoch or turning-point, represented in an historical manner, which are those already indicated (*supra*, p. 361).

The Nativity of the Virgin Mary is, with regard to its subject, one of the earliest of these, and, with the previous legendary history of her parents, Joachim and Anna, afforded subjects for many paintings. This nativity has now, perhaps, acquired additional importance by the establishment of the doctrine of the immaculate conception. It was represented at the earliest epoch of the Renaissance, and perhaps before in miniatures. One of the first among the noticeable ones is that in S. Maria Novella, attributed by Mr. Ruskin to Giotto.¹ D'Agincourt, who gives a plate of it, refers it to the Græco-Italian school;² but it is evidently Giottesque, and there is a fresco in much the same style in the Baroncelli Chapel in S. Croce by Taddeo Gaddi. However this may be, the former piece, for its nature and simplicity, certainly deserves the eulogy passed upon it by Mr. Ruskin. The figure of S. Anna especially is admirably rendered.

Domenico Ghirlandaio's fresco of the same subject in the choir of S. Maria Novella is much more elaborate. Mr. Ruskin is very severe upon it, and not altogether, I think, without reason. But the finery of the chamber may perhaps be defended on the ground alleged by Mrs.

¹ "Mornings in Florence," p. 28 *seq.*

² See Mrs. Jameson's "Madonna," where also there is a plate, p. 147.

Jameson, that Joachim and Anna were "exceedingly rich." Nor do I think that Anna is looking after her child, as Mr. Ruskin says. Her view, as was natural, is evidently directed towards her visitors—the lady, said to be a portrait of Ginevra Benci, and her four attendants. These figures, it must be allowed, are formal and uninteresting; they seem to be posing. On the whole, it is hardly a good specimen of Ghirlandaio's style.¹

Perhaps the best representation of the subject is that of Andrea del Sarto, in the porch of the Annunziata at Florence. S. Anna sits up in her bed to receive two ladies who are come to visit her; on each side attendants are handing her refreshments. Joachim sits at the foot of the bed. On the extreme left, near the fireplace, the nurse and other women are attending to the new-born child. The figures are more dignified than is usual with Del Sarto, but, at the same time, easy and natural. The lady in the middle foreground, who is looking at S. Anna, is said to be a portrait of Del Sarto's wife; and, according to an anecdote related by Baldinucci,² she herself, when advanced in years, pointed this out to Jacopo da Empoli, who was copying the fresco.

Whilst viewing Andrea del Sarto's fine frescoes in this porch, attention will naturally be drawn to that of his pupil Pontormo, representing the Visitation, or visit of the Virgin to her cousin, Elizabeth, mother of S. John Baptist. It will be allowed, I think, that the scholar has here surpassed his master; at all events the figures are finer models of dignity and beauty. Elizabeth, though the elder person, has fallen on her knees before the Virgin, as betokening her higher mission;

¹ Plate in Mrs. Jameson's "Madonna," p. 148, and in Crowe and Cavalcaselle vol. iii., ch. 12.

² Apud Jordan, B. iv. S. 561.

but they are often represented embracing like equal friends, as in Albertinelli's beautiful picture in the Uffizi (No. 1259), where they are quite unaccompanied.

Among the notable early pictures of the Nativity of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi and Shepherds, that of Lorenzo Monaco has been already described (*supra*, p. 353). It is surpassed by the somewhat later one of Gentile da Fabriano, in the Florentine Academy (Grands Tableaux, No. 329),¹ the poetical invention of which is equalled by the beauty of the execution. In the left-hand corner the Virgin, a beautiful figure, presents, with unaffected grace, the Infant Christ to the adoring king. At her side, Joseph, a venerable personage, looks on with intense interest. Behind the Virgin are two graceful female figures, examining the gift of the first king; to the right, the ox and ass show where the scene takes place. The humble holiness of this part of the piece contrasts well with the pomp and splendour of the remaining portion. A youthful king, magnificently appressed, stands in the middle foreground, and salutes the heaven-born Child; beside him, another king bends in adoration; behind, a splendid cavalcade is advancing, which may be traced winding over the hills till lost in the distance. A magnificent castle crowns the furthest mountain. The gilt glories which Lorenzo places round the kings' heads are well dispensed with; the splendid robes and headdresses of the Magi are sufficient to content any lover of ornament. The splendour is here legitimate: it is the homage of worldly pomp to humble piety, and both are appropriately shown.

Thus Gentile, whilst investing the subject with the

¹ The artist's name, with the date 1423, are on the picture. The figure with a red turban, standing near the young king, is said to be a portrait of

Gentile. Michelangelo said of him, "che nel dipignere aveva avuto la mano simile al nome."—Vasari, "Opere," t. ii., p. 314.

magnificence which became it, escaped the influence of the Church, and the spirit of the age, which too often invested the humble condition of the Holy Family with a splendour quite alien to it. The Nativity, instead of taking place in a stable, was often absurdly represented among magnificent ruins. In Domenico Ghirlandaio's round picture in the Uffizi (No. 1295), the stable is a building with magnificently sculptured columns, and the Virgin sits on a pedestal ornamented with bas-reliefs. That artist, as Mr. Ruskin observes in criticizing his frescoes in S. Maria Novella, could never forget his original vocation of a goldsmith, and thus introduced ornaments that are often quite out of place. Nor is his picture in other respects to be compared with Gentile's, though it is more than half a century later. The Virgin, with round, unmeaning face, is awkwardly seated in the middle of the picture; the adoring king is in an uncouth posture, and the principal figure in the foreground, instead of attending to what is going on, is staring in another direction. The figures, too, are realistic and undignified.

Filippino Lippi's picture of the Magi, also in the Uffizi (No. 1257), is much superior to Ghirlandaio's. The Virgin sits in a modest, graceful posture, before a rustic shed in a wooded landscape; Joseph leans over her shoulder, and regards with uplifted hands the Child-God in her lap. The Magi bring their offerings; the shepherds also are spectators of the scene.

The fresco of Benozzo Gozzoli in the Pisan Campo Santo, seems to be a plagiarism from Gentile. The young king and the one who kneels beside him are almost fac-similes of that artist's, only the position is reversed. There is also the cavalcade, but without the same variety of character, and wanting the picturesque effect of the more distant procession. It may be,

however, that Gentile was also indebted to predecessors;¹ and perhaps there are few wholly original works, whether in poetry or painting. More especially is this the case with the religious pictures of the Renaissance, which are for the most part confined to a limited round of subjects, treated in a traditional manner.

Among the pictures of the Epiphany is the celebrated "Notte" of Correggio; one of the pictures sold by the Duke of Modena to Augustus III. of Poland, and now in the Dresden gallery. It appears to have been painted for a private individual, Alberto Pratonieri;² and thus Correggio seems to have felt himself at liberty to dispense with the pomp that was required by the Church. He adopted the story as told by S. Luke. It is not kings that are come to worship the Saviour of all mankind, but simple shepherds, who, instead of diadems and cups of gold, bring as their offerings a brace of pigeons in a rustic basket. In the pictures before described and in most others, the new-born infant already assumes his superhuman functions; he is conscious of the homage paid to him, and in some even bestows his blessing, in papal fashion. Here it is an ordinary child; and according to Mengs, is placed in an oblique position in order not to show the face, which in newly-born infants is not attractive by its beauty. But his divinity is shown in a remarkable manner. He sleeps in his mother's lap; but from his body proceeds a radiance which not only lights up the figures in the foreground, but also by reflection in the sky forms the second light, and reveals a group of Angels, who, to use the words of Vasari, seem rained down from Heaven.³ This effect is said to have been suggested to Correggio by Raphael's fresco of S. Peter in prison; but it has been seen that it had been

¹ See Rosini, t. iii., p. 37.

² Mengs, "Opere," t. ii., p. 167.

³ "Opere," t. iii., p. 47.

employed by artists before Raphael's time. It could not be more appropriately used than in the present instance. The vividness of the light is admirably indicated by the female peasant, who, whilst she gazes with intense interest on the child, puts up her hand to protect her eyes from the dazzling splendour. This light effect has been repeated by Honthorst (*Gherardo della Notte*) in a good picture of the same subject in the Uffizi (*Sala del Baroccio*). Here the light appears to come from the manger.

The period from the birth of Christ down to his betrayal and death has afforded a great variety of subjects to the most eminent painters; but I pass on to the Last Supper, which ushered in the great catastrophe of Christian history. It is the most dramatic of all the scenes which Scripture presents. A company, all of whom are supposed to be faithful followers of their Lord and Master, and mostly were so, are seated at the genial board. The repast is scarcely begun when Christ, in sorrowful, and even compassionate, accents, suddenly exclaims that one of them is about to betray him. A thunder-clap in a serene sky could hardly have created more astonishment and alarm. But widely different must have been the effect. Grief must have predominated among those who loved their Master best; some, less firm in their allegiance, may have had emotions of distrust; but what must have been the feeling of the conscious criminal? It is on Judas and his Master that our attention chiefly rests; they are the protagonists of the scene, the others form only the chorus.

I am, of course, here regarding the event in its historical light, and not as a devotional representation of the institution of the Eucharist. And first a few words concerning the manner in which it is generally shown. The subject was commonly chosen to adorn the refectories of convents;

and the way in which Christ and the Apostles are seated at table resembles that still in use in such places, namely, long benches running round the walls, with narrow tables before them. It is sometimes objected, especially by those who take more interest in the way in which, to use the current phrase, the scene is put upon the stage, than in the subject itself, that all the pictures we have of it are in fault in adopting this modern custom of sitting at table instead of the ancient one of reclining. On which it may be remarked, first: that if the painters themselves were learned enough to be aware of such a custom, as no doubt some of them were, the adoption of it would have been a matter of surprise, if not of ridicule, to the majority of those for whose eyes it was intended. But, secondly, what is more material. It has been already observed that Art, for its higher purposes, breaks through the petty restraints of conventionalism, as it does in this case. Let us fancy the personages in Lionardo's Last Supper disposed round the table in the Roman fashion, and then try to imagine how he could have shown those animated gestures and well-arranged groups which give to the piece its wonderful effect. Some of them have sprung on their feet, the seated ones have full liberty to employ their arms, neither of which could have been done, at all events so effectively, had they been reclining on Roman couches. To be convinced of this, one needs only cast a glance at Poussin's sketch for the subject,¹ where the Apostles are represented sprawling on couches in the Roman fashion, their action impeded, or rendered awkward and ridiculous, by their position.

In the Florentine Academy is a small picture of this subject by Giotto, in which the company are seated round the table instead of along it. Christ is at the

¹ In the Louvre.

top, S. John leans on his bosom. On the near side, Judas, whose head is without a glory, starts up in alarm and leaves the table, whilst an Apostle near him seems to be charging him with his treason. The rest of the company do not show much emotion; indeed they are too huddled together to have much room for gesture. Raphael has adopted a somewhat similar arrangement in one of the arcades of the Loggie, by compulsion evidently of the space which he had to fill. Although thus trammelled, he has contrived to throw much animation into the scene; but not so much as in another arrangement to which I shall recur.

An early fresco, attributed to Giotto and at all events Giottesque, may be seen in the ancient Refectory of S. Croce. Christ and eleven of the Apostles sit in a line on the further side of the table. Christ, who is in the middle of the table, with S. John leaning on his bosom, appears to be denouncing, with uplifted hand, the traitor Judas, who sits opposite to him, and alone, on the nearer side, taking apparently the sop from the dish. The looks of most of the Apostles are directed towards him, but with the exception of S. Peter, on Christ's right, they discover not much emotion.

This arrangement of the table was adopted by most subsequent painters. Cosimo Rosselli, in a fresco which he painted in the Sistine Chapel, somewhat broke the monotony by making the table of a hexagonal form; but the want of animation in the figures is even more remarkable than in the picture just described. A little devil is perched behind the neck of Judas, who here also sits alone. Two young men in Florentine costume are introduced at each side of the picture, but it is difficult to discover their business there. They are too genteel for serving-men, and mere idle spectators would scarcely have been present at that solemn

festival. They seem to have been introduced for the sake of ornament, like the vases on the floor, and the animals, which may be either cats or dogs.

Domenico Ghirlandaio's Last Supper, in the *Foress-tiera*, or smaller Refectory of S. Mark's at Florence, very much resembles that at S. Croce, but has more animation in the heads. The arrangement of the table is the same, only an angular piece, capable of accommodating two persons, is added at each end. The Judas is hardly so good as in the former piece. The tallness of the figure is out of proportion to the rest; the head and hair are rather those of a woman than a man; he shows no signs of guilt, but raises his head on high, as if affecting a hypocritical air of surprise. There is said to be a better, but resembling, fresco by the same artist in Ognissanti, to which I could not gain admission.

In the year 1845, a Cenacolo was discovered, by removing the whitewash which covered it, in a room in the present Egyptian Museum in the Via Faenza, Florence, formerly the convent of the nuns of S. Onofrio. The figures in this piece, which are life-size, are almost an exact copy of the fresco just described, as to the general conception and arrangement; but the details, and especially the heads, the most important part, are so infinitely superior as to show the hand of a far greater master than Ghirlandaio. Who he may have been has been the subject of much dispute, and will perhaps never be satisfactorily settled. It has been variously attributed to Pietro Perugino, to Pinturicchio, to Raphael, to Neri di Bicci, to Lo Spagna, and, lately, by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, to Gerino da Pistoia. This last guess seems to me to be the most improbable one of all. That a work which many good judges have thought to be worthy of Raphael, if not actually his,

should have been produced by such an artist as Gerino surpasses all belief. He worked constantly as Perugino's assistant, and, therefore, caught something of his manner; but that very circumstance shows that he had no original genius. Vasari, who mentions him only incidentally in his "Life of Pinturicchio," says that he was a miserable artist, and that he worked with a difficulty and labour that was quite painful.¹ To think that the fresco in question could have been the production of such a painter, must have arisen, one would think, from a want of appreciation of its merits; of which, indeed, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, to judge from their description of it,² seem to entertain no great opinion.

It appears that a Last Supper, composed in the manner of the frescoes before described, was very ancient, and had been handed down traditionally, especially in the Florentine school, of which the fresco in S. Croce before mentioned is the earliest extant example. But there are bas-reliefs of it of the twelfth century.³ Yet though the composition, as a whole, appears to be Florentine, the details and execution of the S. Onofrio fresco seem to be Peruginesque. This is shown by the figures, but more particularly by the architecture, and the scene shown through the window of Christ at Gethsemane, and the angel descending with the cup. Perugino had painted such a picture for a convent near Florence.⁴

The Cenacolo in the Egyptian Museum, by whomsoever it may have been done, is as to the arrangement, almost an identical copy from Ghirlandaio's fresco in

¹ "Fu costui persona meschina nelle cose dell' arte, durava grandissima fatica nel lavorare, e penava tanto a condurre un opera, che era uno stento."—"Opere," t. ii., p. 502.

² Vol. iv., ch. 7.

³ Passavant, "Vie de Raphael," t. ii., p. 320. There is an engraving of it at Gotha of the date of 1500, in which the figures are the same, but the scene is different.

⁴ Vasari, *ibid.*, p. 520.

S. Mark's, before described. The figures are seated in exactly the same order, with some variations of attitude and expression, which are, in general, great improvements. The only exception to this remark is the younger S. James, the last figure on the left. In Ghirlandaio's picture his hands are clasped together and uplifted, thus manifesting his sorrow and surprise at what he hears. In the fresco under consideration his hands are laid on the table, which gives him an inattentive and *nonchalant* air. He seems almost posing for a portrait; and, indeed, the head is younger and much handsomer than Ghirlandaio's, and Raphaelesque in style. The next three figures, Philip, James the elder, and Andrew, are similar in character to Ghirlandaio's, but their action and expression are more varied and animated. Andrew is directing the attention of James to Judas; in Ghirlandaio's fresco it is James who does the same to Philip; the consequence of which is that Andrew, whose head is turned towards Judas, is almost an identical figure with Peter.

Beginning with the last Apostle, and proceeding to the right, the figures in both frescoes are very similar in position and attitude; the chief variation, and it is a notable one, is, that in the S. Onofrio fresco, S. Thomas, who sits at the head of the cross-table, at this moment of general surprise and anxiety is pouring out a glass of wine, as if to mark his *poco curante* and half incredulous character. A hardly perceptible smile on the countenance tends to the same effect; otherwise the head is one of the most beautiful of all the Apostles, and worthy of Raphael. It was on the tunic of this figure that some letters are said to have been discovered, indicating Raphaël's name; but they vanished in the cleaning. It is, however, the five central figures—from S. Peter to S. Matthew, inclusive—

which form the charm of the piece. It has been well observed by an anonymous Italian critic,¹ that they are quite a poem. The face of Christ, who sits in the middle, with S. John leaning on his bosom, with its expression of sorrow and compassion, as he looks at Judas opposite, is worthy to be compared with Da Vinci's. Judas sits alone in the traditional manner; but the figure is far superior to Ghirlandaio's. His villainy is manifest, and he averts his head from the gaze of the rest. Peter, clutching his knife, looks at him in a threatening manner. But the most extraordinary figure is that of S. Bartholomew, who sits on Christ's left. He has suddenly arrested his hands, with the knife and fork with which he was in the act of helping himself from his plate, and casts a withering look on Judas that must penetrate his soul. The expression of suspicion is inimitable, whilst in Ghirlandaio's fresco he is tame and unconcerned. Perugino would hardly, I think, have been capable of such a figure. It is quite possible that Raphael, during his early sojourn in Florence, might have been induced to paint the piece, taking Ghirlandaio's for his model, which would have been in accordance with his studies from the Florentine masters; but there is neither proof nor remote inference by which the authorship can be even probably established.

Lionardo da Vinci, in the *Cenacolo*, which he painted for the Refectory of the Dominicans at S. Maria delle Grazie, near Milan, towards the end of the fifteenth century, was the first to emancipate the subject from the tameness and formality of the traditional method. According to the narrative of S. John (c. xiii.), the scene might present two motives: first, from v. 21, "Verily, verily, I say unto you that one of you shall betray me;" second, after Jesus, in answer to John's question

¹ In the "Giornale del Commercio," No. 46.

who it might be, says, "He it is to whom I shall give a sop," and he gave it to Judas Iscariot (v. 26).

By this last action the traitor stands revealed, and this is the moment chosen in the paintings hitherto described. The result is that Judas becomes the protagonist; and to show him more conspicuously he is placed alone—an unnatural position, since being yet unconvicted of any crime, and still the purse-bearer of the holy company, there is no reason why he should be separated from the rest. The first motive occasions a very different scene. It gives rise to a variety of emotions—surprise, curiosity, suspicion, grief, fear, indignation; whilst, in the second motive, only some of these feelings are awakened. Hence a larger and more animated scene is opened to the artist, whilst, at the same time, a heavy demand is made upon his skill to show the culprit unmistakably, while not yet indicated either by his position, or by the gaze of Christ and the Apostles being fixed upon him. It also requires a difference in the bearing of the Saviour. He is not yet indicating the criminal by look or gesture, but only obscurely intimating what is about to happen.

Admirably, indeed, has Lionardo fulfilled the conditions here required. The face of Christ, supremely beautiful, is turned towards none, least of all towards Judas, from whom it is even averted. With downcast eyes and outspread hands, bespeaking unutterable sorrow, he breaks the sad tidings to his followers. John at his right, but not in his bosom, as generally represented, sinks back as if swooning at the news; whilst Peter, with eagerness and impetuosity, is urging him to ask the name of the culprit. This arrangement improves the grouping, and gives more animation to the scene. Next is Andrew, who lifts up his hands in astonishment. James the younger and Bartholomew,

gazing with intense interest upon Christ, terminate this side of the picture.

The first Apostle on Christ's left, said to be S. Thomas, seems to be the only one who recognizes the traitor. He fixes his eyes upon Judas, and raises his forefinger in a threatening attitude. His suspicion seems to have been awakened by the action of Judas, who, starting with conscious guilt at the words of Christ, has overset the salt-cellar with his arm, in the hand of which he clutches the purse. His face is thrown into shade by the head of Peter, who leans over him, and the shadow augments the villainous look of it. He wants no other indication. The wide-spread arms and alarmed expression of the next Apostle after S. Thomas, James the brother of John, testify his surprise and horror. The next figure, whom Bossi calls S. Matthew,¹ but who seems to be too young for that character, is a perfect contrast to the preceding. He seems to be entirely absorbed by grief, and placing his hands on his breast, gazes sorrowfully at his Master. The rest of the picture on this side is occupied by a group of the three remaining Apostles, who are engaged in earnest conversation about the denunciation they have heard.

We may well believe Vasari's account that Lionardo found his greatest difficulty in the heads of the two most opposite characters; in one the extreme of divine beauty and love, in the other the basest human ugliness and villainy. The lofty ideal which he always strove to reach, naturally made him a slow worker; he was ill content if he could not at least approach in delineation the conceptions he had formed in his mind. The expression of vice and ugliness is, however, more easily caught than are the more tranquil features of supreme and

¹ I have taken the names from Bossi, ap. Rosini, t. iv., p. 19; but I doubt whether they are all correct.

perfect virtue. After much study, Lionardo at last depicted a Judas to his mind; but he is said to have been never satisfied with the head of Christ, and to have left it unfinished. At the present moment no judgment can be formed on this point, but it may at least be said that he has surpassed all other painters of the Saviour. And this will perhaps be more readily seen from the drawing which he made for it, now in the Brera, than from the picture.

This fine piece, which was painted in oil, began to show signs of decay not very long after it was done; and time, ill-usage, and re-painting have now almost completed its ruin. Yet much may still be made out, and its progress towards entire decay does not appear to be so rapid as is sometimes asserted. The writer first saw it in 1858; and on revisiting it fifteen years afterwards, in 1873, no great alteration was perceptible. There is an early copy of it in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana; and the excellent engraving of Raphael Morghen suffices to convey a satisfactory conception of it.

It would have been impossible, after Lionardo's picture, to return to the old Giottesque composition. In the fresco of Andrea del Sarto, executed some thirty years afterwards, in the convent of S. Salvi, near Florence, the figures are arranged much in the same way as Lionardo's, but the moment seems to be rather more advanced. Christ is in the act of answering John's question, and has already taken up a piece of bread to make the sop which he will hand to Judas, who sits next him. Christ's head is commonplace; it shows neither dignity nor emotion. That of Judas has nothing of the villain. He is unabashed, and raises his hand to his breast, as if affecting an air of innocence. S. Peter, generally a principal figure, is here almost hidden behind Judas,

and indeed might be mistaken for him. The rest of the figures, three of whom have started to their legs, have nothing remarkable. Nevertheless, the picture pleases from its air of reality; if there is nothing very striking, it has, at all events, no exaggeration, nothing overstepping the modesty of nature. It is well painted, and the draperies are handsome and well arranged.

It is perhaps to be regretted that Raphael in his maturer years never painted a *Cenacolo* on a large scale. A drawing for one, engraved by Mark Antonio, shows that he would have added some original touches. The moment chosen is the same as Da Vinci's. The most remarkable trait is the figure of Judas. Never before or since has conscious villainy, fearful of detection, been so forcibly portrayed. Hiding himself from Christ behind another Apostle, he leans on the table, listening anxiously with averted eyes, to Christ's words. The spectator at once detects the criminal, though there is nothing to denote him but his skulking posture and guilty face. It is a more perfect delineation of villainy than even Lionardo's Judas. The other groups are full of animation. The figures are not remarkable for beauty, but it is impossible to say what they might have become when carried out in painting by such a master. We should probably have had the second picture among the famous ones of the world.

There is a Last Supper by Bonifazio in the Uffizi (No. 628), beautifully coloured, but that is all that can be said of it. The figures are tame and conventional, and one of them with outstretched arms seems to be a plagiarism from Lionardo. The picture gains in effect if looked at through the door of the preceding room.

The betrayal, death, and resurrection of Christ close his earthly mission, and are the forerunners of the great catastrophe, the Day of Judgment, which terminates the

cycle of human destiny. I have already adverted to Orcagna's representation of the subject. That of Fra Angelico and Luca Signorelli in the chapel of the Madonna di S. Brizio, in the cathedral of Orvieto, is more comprehensive, as showing the catastrophe from beginning to end; the coming of Antichrist, the destruction of the world, the resurrection of the dead, the Judgment, the torments of the wicked, and the happiness of the blessed. Fra Angelico began the painting of this chapel towards the end of the first half of the fifteenth century, but completed only one half of the ceiling, containing the Saviour in the act of judging, a group of prophets and saints, the Virgin amongst the Apostles, with Doctors of the Church, and four founders of monastic orders. But he had left designs for the remainder of the ceiling, which were carried out by Signorelli half a century later.

It was, perhaps, fortunate for Art that the completion of the chapel was left for Signorelli. Fiesole's genius inclined him more to the beautiful and tranquil than to the delineation of strong and terrible emotion, such as must necessarily accompany the catastrophe to be depicted. His group of the prophets has never been exceeded in beauty combined with dignity; but it may be doubted whether he would have rendered with adequate force the scenes of earthly horror. Signorelli was here in his element. In depicting the terrible he was the forerunner of Michelangelo; who, as Vasari tells us in his *Life of Signorelli*, not only deeply admired him, but even borrowed some things from him in his picture of the Last Judgment.

This panorama of the completion of man's destiny is almost the only attraction in the dirty but picturesque town of Orvieto; which seems to be in much the same state as when Gardiner went thither as ambassador to

Pope Clement VII., three or four centuries ago.¹ But the sight of these frescoes will well repay any little discomfort. They are, on the whole, in a good state of preservation, and the light is excellent. The visitor should begin with that on the left, showing the preaching of the Antichrist. Elevated on a pedestal, he is delivering the Devil's dictates, who stands behind and prompts him. He is surrounded by a motley crowd, many of whom are portraits. The temptations of the world, in the shape of coins, precious vases, &c., lie scattered on the ground before him, from which some of his audience are taking. Behind the Antichrist, in the middle distance, is a group of monks engaged in conversation and heedless of his preaching. A magnificent temple rises in the distance, before which are various scenes of persecution and martyrdom. On the left side of the fresco Satan is seen precipitated from heaven by an Angel, and falling among a crowd of people engaged in massacre. In the extreme corner, Signorelli has introduced portraits of himself and Fra Angelico, who stand calmly contemplating these horrible scenes. Such a proceeding is in accordance with Florentine Art; but I cannot help thinking that it sometimes introduces strange incongruities into a piece.

The next fresco, proceeding to the left, shows the destruction of the world, in which the postures and foreshortenings of the figures hurled to the ground are truly wonderful. On the right, a Sibyl or Prophetess is reading and explaining the predictions concerning the final catastrophe; in the middle, an aged prophet is pointing to the consummation already begun. Higher up are horrible scenes of cruelty and blood, the tribu-

¹ "The place may well be called *Urbs Vetus*; no one would give it any other name . . . Few men at Orvieto have

more garments than one."—*Letter* of 1528, ap. Brewer, "Papers about Henry VIII.," vol. iv., introd. ccxci.

lations predicted before the second coming of Christ. The sun is seen darkened, partly also the moon, enveloped in a bloody veil. Fiery rain falls from the burning sky, amidst which are flying demons with bat-like wings.

Next follows the Resurrection. The dead are roused by Angels sounding trumpets of enormous length. Some are already on their legs; others are just emerging from their graves, either like skeletons, or already covered with some flesh. Some are in an attitude of devotion, others are overwhelmed with astonishment and awe, a few look up in tranquil contemplation.

In the fresco which follows, the artist has judiciously avoided painting the horrible and disgusting scenes of Hell. The condemned are seen assembled upon earth; some are seized and bound by demons, while others are carried off by flying devils, some of which are grotesquely horrible. Archangels with drawn swords repulse all attempts to force the gates of Heaven, and precipitate some who have tried to do so.

The horror of this picture is relieved by the next, showing the calling of the elect to Heaven. A chorus of Angels on clouds resplendent like gold, are making heavenly music; two others lower down are scattering flowers on the blessed, whilst some, descended upon earth, point out to them the gates of Heaven. The faces and attitudes of the elect express supreme joy mingled with wonder. These figures have all the more merit, inasmuch as it is far more difficult to depict the quieter emotions than the strongly-marked traits of terror and despair. An historian of Art has not hesitated to say that the Angels of Signorelli are more beautiful than those of Michelangelo.¹

This verdict will at least hold good if the comparison

¹ Rosini, t. iii., p. 72.

be restricted to Michelangelo's fresco of the Last Judgment. Horror is the key-note of that composition, and anything that might detract from it is almost entirely excluded. The motive is Christ in his wrath, one might almost say in his vengeance for sufferings on earth, the instruments of which are displayed above him—the cross, the nails, the crown of thorns, the column, the sponge, and the ladder. His figure has neither divine majesty, nor the bearing of a calm and equitable judge; it is rather a stalwart mortal who is condemning with signs of fury those who have offended him. His words and gestures are so terrible that the Virgin mother, who sits beside him, turns aside with alarm and pity. The female figures are few, and they are purposely without the beauty which he was so capable of depicting, as shown by his Eve in the Fall. The same may be said of the male figures. Adam, who as the representative of the human race, stands on one side of the judgment-seat, and S. Peter, as the founder of Christianity on the other, have not the dignity of the prophets in the ceiling of the chapel. The lower part of the picture, showing the approaching punishment of the damned, is perhaps the best. In mid-air are seen the Seven Angels of the Revelation, sounding their trumpets. Michelangelo has here introduced a characteristic trait. The Angel on the side of the wicked has an enormous volume full of their sins, whilst another on the side of the blessed holds but a small book of their good deeds. Below this group is the boat of Charon, who, striking with the oar his unhappy passengers, compels them to land on that desolate shore. Here they are received by Minos, a strange figure with ass's ears, and an enormous serpent coiled round his middle. According to Vasari, it is a portrait of Messer Biagio da Cesena, the Pope's Master of the Ceremonies, who had complained to him of the many

nudities which Michelangelo had introduced. The Pope asked where the figure had been placed, and when told that it was in Hell, remarked that he had then no power in the matter, though he could have released him from Purgatory.

Before this grand picture criticism stands as it were disarmed. The subject itself, as well as the genius of the artist who conceived it, are beyond the rules of ordinary art. It is said that there is but one step between the sublime and the ridiculous; but Michelangelo seems to have been sometimes capable of placing himself in the middle of that step, so that we tremble with apprehension as to the side on which he will fall. In the judgment of this matter much will depend on the spectator's turn of mind. Burke has observed that in all the pictures he had seen of Hell he had been at a loss to determine whether the painter did not intend something ludicrous.¹ The same, perhaps, will be the feeling of the more cultivated and enlightened portion of mankind, but it would hardly find a place among the class for whom the picture was intended; and on this, perhaps, Michelangelo's defence, if any be needed, may be best founded. Superstition rests on terror; its chief antidote is ridicule, by means of which Lucian went far to destroy the gods of paganism; but ridicule is powerless where terror is overwhelming and absorbing.

By his Last Judgment Michelangelo completed the grand cycle of human destiny which he had opened in the same chapel with his frescoes of the Creation. I have confined myself to this cycle, and selected a few of the principal incidents in it, both for the sake of giving a sort of unity to so boundless a theme as modern painting, and because these subjects best exhibit the character of the Renaissance as having its origin in

¹ "On the Sublime and Beautiful," part ii., § 4, p. 93.

religion. But though the pieces selected are the most striking, all are not, perhaps, the most pleasing that might have been taken from Scripture. Both the Old and the New Testament abound with scenes of domestic life that have been admirably treated by the best artists. Herein lies the most striking difference between ancient and modern religious Art. The former is mostly heroic and has but few subjects of a domestic nature. The difficulty in such subjects of attracting sympathy without the sacrifice of dignity, has for the most part been admirably overcome by the earlier modern schools of painting. The employment of Art in the service of religion conferred on it from its origin a nobleness of aim which it never entirely lost. At a later period, when the genius of the artist was less restricted, it revelled in the scenes of ancient mythology; and in this way many productions of the modern pencil might, no doubt, be confidently compared with the best of antiquity. The like was not the case with sculpture; another consequence of the origin of Art in religion. But into modern sculpture it is not my intention to enter. In view of the examples we possess, that art is more peculiarly distinctive of the ancients, as painting is of the moderns.

THE END.

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